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ETHNOLOGICAL SERIES

University of Chicago Press · Chicago 37

Agent: Cambridge University Press · London

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

Mrs. Parsons, at her death in December, 1941, left this monograph in virtually its present form. It was prepared for the press by Mr. John Murra and Señor Anibal Buitron. Drawings were prepared by Mr. Alfred Harris. Miss H. Newell Wardle, of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, studied the material on weaving, supplying both drawings and notes. Most of the photographs were taken by Mr. Bodo Wuth of Quito. Publication was made possible by a gift from the author's children, Mrs. John Kennedy, Mr. John E. Parsons, Mr. Herbert Parsons, and Mr. McIlvaine Parsons.

PREFACE

The following information about Indian Ecuador was recorded from February to May, 1940, and from September to November, 1941, while I made the city of Otavalo my headquarters and spent most of the day in Peguche, the near-by Indian settlement. The time spent in Otavalo was not a loss, for it enabled me to observe contacts between the Whites and the Indians and the particular forms of Hispanic culture from which the Indians have borrowed.

Through the good offices of Mr. Juan L. Gorrell, a talented and understanding American who has been engaged in business for several years in Quito and who has also farmed land in the Cayambe Valley, I received for over a year after my visit written reports on Cayambe Indian life from a group of school-bred young Indians living in the parish of Juan Montalvo. Mr. Gorrell made careful translations of their inadequate or dialectical Spanish and passed on to them inquiries suggested by their accounts. Most of this information I have kept separate in the Appendix. Although Cayambe is only twenty miles from Otavalo, to the south, it lies over the divide of the Otavalo Valley drainage and is on or near headwaters of the southeasterly Amazonian drainage. Although the Cayambe data are from more sophisticated informants than are the data from Peguche, the Cayambe picture is in several particulars more like that of Amazonian lowland culture. Information about exchange of populations under the Incas is more definite for Cayambe than for Otavalo. All this is good reason for keeping information about the two groups separate, but Cayambe was an invaluable check on Peguche and gave me many leads to follow on my second visit.

I have made a point of noting various cultural parallels in Middle America and in our Southwest, particularly in ritual, not because I would suggest direct historical connections, but because only through the accumulation of such parallels from monograph to monograph can our neglect of the general distribution of ritual elements in American ethnology be advisedly overcome.

A great many Spanish or Quechuized Spanish terms are used at Peguche in speaking Quechua, and I have recorded many of them as possibly of interest to students of acculturation in language. Rosita Lema, my chief informant, when she knows no Quechua equivalent for a Spanish term, always thinks of the term and calls it Quechua, which is also an interesting matter. I note her usage by writing "Sp.-Q." before the term. Also I have generally

preserved her pronunciation of Spanish terms. Almost invariably in Spanish (sometimes in Quechua) she interchanges or uses indifferently the vowel sounds of *i* and *e*, of *o* and *u*. Before terms that I do not recognize as Spanish or corrupt Spanish and do not find in Quechua dictionaries, I place an interrogation mark; they may be dialectical Spanish or dialectical Quechua. Quechua as spoken in Peguche is even now undergoing change. Twenty years ago *tenian otra voz*, "they pronounced differently."

Mrs. Guy Bullock, wife of the British minister to Ecuador, introduced Mr. Gorrell, who in turn introduced Rosita Lema of Peguche, who in turn introduced me to Peguche neighbors. I thank all these understanding and helpful people for the opportunities they gave me to study, if only briefly, Andean Indian life.

E. C. P.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	vii
I. ECUADOR	i
II. PEGUCHE	7
III. TECHNOLOGY AND MATERIAL CULTURE	14
IV. FAMILY AND PERSONAL LIFE	33
V. RELIGION	81
VI. CALENDAR	95
VII. RITUAL	113
VIII. LORE AND TALES	125
IX. IN PEGUCHE HOUSES	149
X. PROVENIENCE OF TRAITS	170
APPENDIX. NOTES ON THE PARISH OF JUAN MONTALVO, CANTON OF CAYAMBE, PICHINCHA PROVINCE	183
BIBLIOGRAPHY	217
INDEX	221

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES

I. ROSITA LEMA	<i>Frontispiece</i>
	FACING PAGE
II. YARD AND CORRIDOR OF AN INDIAN HOUSE	14
III. TILES ALONG THE RIDGE OF THE THATCHED ROOF	15
IV. NARROW LADDER AND LITTLE PLATFORM UNDER THE EAVES; A MAKESHIFT FOR A TREE ROOST FOR CHICKENS	16
V. SHEEP ARE OFTEN PASTURED ALONG THE ROADSIDE BY LITTLE BOYS	17
VI. THE DIGGING-STICK IS MADE OF EUCALYPTUS WOOD	20
VII. USING THE HOE OR MATTOCK	21
VIII. WATER JARS DRYING IN THE SUN	26
IX-X. POTTERY SHAPES	26
XI-XII. INDIAN LOOMS FOR PONCHOS AND BELTS	26
XIII. WOMAN USING AN INDIAN LOOM	27
XIV. SPANISH LOOM FOR WEAVING CASSIMERE OR TWEED	27
XV. MAN WEAVING ON A SPANISH LOOM	27
XVI. WOMAN WEARING TYPICAL COSTUME	30
XVII. NECKLACES AND EARRINGS WORN BY WOMEN	30
XVIII. THE BRACELETS OF RED BEADS AND INNUMERABLE RINGS WORN BY WOMEN	31
XIX. FROM THE DAY OF BIRTH MATHILDE WAS WELL SWADDLED IN A WOMAN'S BELT	31
XX. CHILDREN FROM EARLY CHILDHOOD ARE DRESSED JUST LIKE ADULTS	50
XXI. ORGENIO HUAMANG, "MAESTRO REZADOR"	51
XXII. PICTURE OF HELL AS DEPICTED IN THE CHURCH OF LA COMPAÑIA IN QUITO	86
XXIII. FLUTISTS. SAN JUAN DAY, OTAVALO, JUNE, 1940	87
XXIV. CLOTH HELMET MASK WITH HORNS USED BY THE "DIABLITO"	108
XXV. IN FRONT OF THE LITTLE CHAPEL OF SAN JUAN	109
XXVI. SAN JUAN CHAPEL AND PLAZA WITH BOOTHS. SAN JUAN DAY, JUNE, 1940	110

XXVII. "CHICHERIA" OF TWO STORIES ON DANCE PLAZA. OTAVALO, JUNE, 1940	110
XXVIII. "THE USUAL DRUNKENNESS PREVAILS." SAN JUAN CELEBRATION, 1940	110
XXIX. DANCERS DRESSED AS BLANCOS. OTAVALO, JUNE, 1940 . . .	111
XXX. FLUTIST WITH DANCERS. SAN JUAN DAY, OTAVALO, JUNE, 1940	111
XXXI. "DIABLO" WITH MASK OF THE PAINTED WIRE TYPE	111
XXXII. A CONQUISTADOR DANCER TAKES A DRINK FROM A GOURD, CORPUS CRISTI IN VALLE DE LOS CHILLOS	116
XXXIII. COLUMN DANCE BY CONQUISTADOR DANCERS, CORPUS CRISTI IN VALLE DE LOS CHILLOS	116
XXXIV. COLUMN DANCE BY CONQUISTADORS, CORPUS CRISTI IN VALLE DE LOS CHILLOS	116
XXXV. CIRCLE DANCE BY MASKED CONQUISTADORS AND MEN IMPERSONATING WOMEN	117
XXXVI. A WOODEN LION MASK FROM SAQUISILI	117
XXXVII. A CROSS NEAR THE TOWN OF COTACACHI	117
XXXVIII-XL. CHICKENS BEING OFFERED TO THE "HACENDADO," OR PATRON	120

FIGURES

1. "PONDO" OR "CHICHA" JARS WITH CONICAL BASES	16
2. PARTS OF A LOOM	26
3. TILE HOUSE AND THATCHED HOUSE	183

CHARTS

I. GENEALOGY OF LEMA FAMILY	34
II. GENEALOGY OF COTACACHI FAMILY	35
III. GENEALOGY OF RUIS FAMILY	36

CHAPTER I

ECUADOR

The population of Ecuador is about three million. Outside a few families in Quito—very few, I am told—it would be difficult to classify this population by race, except roughly, as is common practice, as White, mestizo or half-breed, Indian, and Negro. Ever since the Spanish conquest there has been considerable miscegenation between White and Indian in the highlands and for a long time on the coast between White and Negro. In the eastern forest there are few if any Whites, and on the coast except in the north there are no Indians.

Between race and culture there is considerable confusion of thought in Ecuador, as elsewhere. A mestizo or Cholo¹ is thought of both as a half-breed and as a person of low economic status and cultural inferiority derived from Indian contacts. As the following highland study is concerned primarily with culture, not race, and as I consider the culture of mestizos or Cholos to be derived primarily from Spanish peasant or village culture, I will refer to it as White, irrespective of the degree of miscegenation. I beg the reader, particularly the Ecuadorian reader, to keep this distinction clearly in mind, realizing that *White* and *Indian* refer not to blood but to ways of life. Among our problems are to what degree Indian ways may have penetrated Spanish culture and to what degree Spanish ways have penetrated Indian culture, and it is important not to predetermine the answers to these problems by terminology, however conventional in Ecuador such terminology may be.

The Indian tribes or states of what is now Ecuador constituted the farthestmost northern outpost of the Inca empire and were its final conquest. Begun in 1461, it was not achieved until 1487, when the large kingdom of Quito became a part of the Peruvian empire, together with several other independent states south and north, on the coast and in the mountains. North of Quito lay the states of Cayambi, Otavalo, and Ymbaya (Ibarra) or Caranqui.² Garcilasso describes "the province of Otavallu" as inhabited

¹ In early Spanish days the term was applied in Aymará-speaking Peru to a small and unshapely breed of dogs (*Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, II, 62) and in Cuzco to the offspring of "mulattos" who were themselves the offspring of an Indian and a Negro. According to Garcilasso (II, 503), the term came from the Caribbean Islands and meant dog. It was a term of contempt, as it is more or less today in Ecuador; one would not use the term in speaking to a mestizo. An ordinance for New Spain forbade calling even an Indian a dog or by any name but his own (Vasquez, p. 205).

² Means, pp. 146 ff.

by a more civilized and warlike people than the people to the south or north.³

Not very much is known about the culture of all these early peoples of the northern highlands of Ecuador. According to a highly controverted account by a late Spanish chronicler, a people called Cara (A.D. 700-1000) migrated from the northwest coast, first conquered Tusa (San Gabriel), Otavalo, and Cayambe, and, later, Quito. They were remarkable weavers of cotton and wool and skilful tanners.⁴ There are two types of burials: mound (*tola*) and well,⁵ the mound type being immediately pre-Inca. Archeological research has not yet developed enough data for valid historical reconstruction. A recent study of the physical type of a group of Otavalo Indians is negative on relations between them and the Chibcha-speaking Cayapa, living on the tributaries of the Esmeraldas and "possibly to be regarded as descendants of the ancient Cara." Comparison shows differences "so great as to indicate, at least, that the Cara blood has completely disappeared either from the Cayapa or the Otavalo."⁶

After the Inca conquest of the northern provinces, the Caranques rebelled, assisted by unconquered northern allies, and killed the Inca officials and their garrison. With great slaughter the rebellion was put down, as had been a similar rebellion in the maritime provinces. Referring to the maritime provinces, Garcilasso states that, in accordance with established imperial policy, the Inca Huayna Cápac removed many of these people to other provinces and brought more quiet and peaceful tribes to take their place.⁷ Such colonizing families, who were called *mitimaes*, repopulated devastated areas or founded new "towns"; they served to spread the Quechua language and the Inca culture in general.⁸ Although it is not definitely stated,⁹ it seems quite probable that colonists were also transplanted to the highland Caranque region.¹⁰ It is the more probable, since Caranques (also Cayambes in the valley to the south, and Quitus) were transplanted by the Inca conqueror to the islands of Lake Titicaca¹¹ inhabited by Que-

³ Referring to Pastu and Caranque, "inhabited by a very barbarous tribe" (Garcilasso, II, 350).

⁴ However uncertain the early history of the Cara as given by Father Velasco, the authorities he quotes may be describing more or less accurately the pre-Incaic people.

⁵ Means, pp. 145 ff.

⁷ Garcilasso, II, 452.

⁶ Gillen, p. 192.

⁸ Garcilasso, I, 219, 233; II, 215.

⁹ Except by Cieza de León, p. 258 (cited by Stirling).

¹⁰ In physical type the Indians of Angachagua, living in a closed valley about fifteen miles southeast of Ibarra, are quite distinct from the Indians near Otavalo. Their Quechua dialect differs (Gillen, pp. 174, 187, 192). Are they descendants of Peruvian colonists or of the pre-Incaic population?

¹¹ Garcilasso, II, 340, n. 1. Possibly the few copper tools found at Titicaca, where other tools are bronze (Nordenskiöld 1:100), were carried there by these Ecuadorian highlanders who used

chua- and by Aymará-speaking people. Turbulent Cayambes were transplanted also to Cuzco, and in this case it is stated that colonists were sent to their land.²² From internal evidence also, from the mass of Peruvian traits to be found today in the Imbabura Valley, the northern part of which was occupied by the Caranques, it would seem that some of the forebears of the valley's Indian population came from Peru. I venture the hypothesis because so many of the Peruvian traits occur in the domestic life, usually the most conservative part of culture, and because, in spite of unfavorable circumstances, the Quechua language was established.

Inca administration insisted on bilingualism in conquered territory in the ruling class; but, in the northern provinces of Ecuador, Inca administration was short lived. It endured only seventy years, and troubled years at that. After the Spanish conquest in 1531 the Indians were no longer compelled or stimulated to learn Quechua, so that in many provinces, among them "provinces within the jurisdiction of Quito," the "general language" lapsed.²³ This general statement is supported by the first local chronicler of the "province" of Otavalo, Sancho de Paz Ponce de Leon, Corregidor and Justicia Mayor del Partido de Otavalo, who reports in 1582 that the Indians speak "many languages differing one from the other and from the language of the Inga, because almost every pueblo has its own language."²⁴

Language aside, the Spanish chroniclers of this early period observed or described near Quito or in the north few if any traits not Incan. Their observations were not detailed and contribute little to the problem of Inca-Ecuador acculturation. To the problem of Spanish-Ecuador acculturation they do contribute.

By 1582 the Spanish encomienda system, nonhereditary grant of land and of tributary Indians, was well established in the northern highlands. Our Corregidor reports ten major encomiendas in his district or province of Otavalo to a population of 10,115 Indians or over, of whom 8,085 are tribu-

copper, not bronze, tools before the Inca invasion. Imbabura groups present more resemblance in physical type to Aymará than to Peruvian Quechua groups (Gillen, p. 191). A linguist should go on a hunt in the valley for Aymará words and, indeed, for traces of other languages also.

²² Salcamayhua, pp. 97, 98, 99. Ondegardo reports (p. 168) colonists sent to the Bracamoras (River), province of Quito. The village of Zambiza, ten miles northeast of Quito, peopled by *mitimaes* from Peru and Bolivia (Verneau and Rivet, p. 21, cited by Stirling). These Zambizos wear their hair long and weave belts. Their Quechua is very difficult for the people of Peguche to understand.

²³ Garcilasso, II, 219-20.

²⁴ Or dialect, probably the Corregidor should have added (*Relación de Otavalo*, p. 109). Same report for the Quito district, but the "general language" is understood by all excepting the *pasuños*, whose language is difficult (Quito, 1573, p. 91).

tary.¹⁵ The "pueblos" in the encomienda of Capitán Rodrigo de Salazar¹⁶ are Sarance (Otavalo), "which is the principal of them," San Pablo de la Laguna, Cotacachi, Tontaqui, Urcoqui, Las Salinas or Tumbabiro, and Inta (the last three warm and unhealthy). This population is enumerated as of 3,100 Indians (old men and married men, *indios viejos y casados*), of whom 2,360 are tributary. Within the encomienda of Diego Mendez de los Dios and the Crown lands lie the pueblos of Carangue (Ibarra) and San Antonio, with 500 tributary Indians and 100 nontributary. Unfortunately, no White persons are enumerated, excepting the religious. In each pueblo there is a church and in each an indoctrinating Franciscan friar. Besides the above pueblos, nineteen other pueblos are listed in the province of Otavalo, with a population of over 6,415. In each of these pueblos there is a church, and the Indians are indoctrinated by friar¹⁷ or priest (*sacerdote clérigo*).

The Corregidor states that formerly this intelligent Indian population (*indios de razonable entendimiento*) was much larger, as may be seen from the distribution of the tillable fields. The population was diminished, he states, through the Inca conquest, through the Spanish conquest, and then through epidemics of measles, smallpox, and typhus (*tabardete*).¹⁸ The Spanish discovery and conquest was made in 1538 by the *adelantado* Benalcazar "they can't say at whose order because no Conquistador is now [1582] living whom one might ask."¹⁹

What does Corregidor and Magistrate Sancho de Paz mean by "pueblo"? As there is a church in each "pueblo," he probably means some concentration of population, fostered by the church even if it did not determine the location of the church. This concentration was formerly a political unit of a kind, for the Corregidor reports:

The pueblos of all this *corregimiento* formerly had in each pueblo or *parcialidad*²⁰ its cacique who governed them tyrannically, for whoever was most powerful and valiant him they held for *señor* and obeyed and respected and to him paid tribute; and the Indians had nothing more than the cacique wanted to leave them; since he was *señor* of all the Indians possessed and of their wives and sons and daughters and he

¹⁵ All "able-bodied" persons had to pay a tribute or head-tax.

¹⁶ Salazar had assassinated treacherously in the name of the king his predecessor in the encomienda, Pedro de Puelles. Salazar and Francisco Ruiz were accounted the two richest men of Ecuador. Salazar, a native of Toledo, was married to Doña Ana Palla, a very near kinswoman of the Incas. By Doña Ana, Salazar had one daughter, Doña María de Salazar. His only son (mother) became a Franciscan friar (Quito, 1573, pp. 76, 80).

¹⁷ By Mercedarios in Lita, Quilca, Cabosqui, Tuza, Puntal, Guacan, Pu, Los Tulcanes; by a Dominican in Cayambe and Tabacundo; by a Franciscan in Malchingui and Perucho.

¹⁸ *Relación de Otavalo*, pp. 108-9.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

²⁰ Italics mine. *Parcialidad* refers to a settlement more or less scattered. This term was used in the same way for Indian groups or settlements by the early Spanish chroniclers of Mexico. In Mexico the current term is *barrio*; in Guatemala, *aldea*.

made use of all of them as if they were his slaves[!] excepting the Indian traders who did not serve their caciques like the others, they only paid a tribute of gold and *mantas* and *chaquira* of white or red beads.²¹

The darker the Indian rule, the less dark the Spanish!²²

Modern Ecuador is divided into seventeen provinces, a governor to each, appointed by the president of the Republic. The governor in turn appoints a *jefe político* for each canton or subdivision of the *provincia* and a *comisario municipal* for each town. The *jefe político* appoints a *teniente político* for each village. The Indians have no distinctive secular officials, and their chapel officials—Indians—are nominated for the most part by their parish priest.²³

In this system the only formal provision for self-government, for either Whites or Indians, is through the national suffrage. The president of the Republic, two senators for each province, and a deputy for every thirty thousand inhabitants are voted for by men and women over twenty-one; Indians as well as Whites may vote, if literate. A national election was held in 1940, and in the canton of Otavalo the popular candidate for the presidency was Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño, better known as an archeologist than as a politician. He seems to have been backed by the Church, for during the campaign Indians were told that unless they voted for him their land would be confiscated, the churches would be burned down, and the Franciscan friars would be married to the Sisters of Charity, which idea greatly diverted my somewhat incredulous Indian friends. This version of bolshevism may have been current quite generally, as I heard in Quito that for the time being the government was friendly toward the Church as a bulwark against "bolshevism."

In politics or in daily life the Church is close to the people of Ecuador, particularly to Indian folk, closer in Ecuador, as Saenz has well observed, than in Mexico. "The influence of the Church is more coherent and systematic. . . . Catholic ritual and Catholic concepts are clearer and more

²¹ *Relación de Otavalo*, p. III. In a reference to the springs of salt water on the outskirts of the pueblo of Mira it is stated that the Indian saltworkers—the Indians alone like this salt—are subject to a captain of Don Luis Ango, cacique of Otavalo and *encomendado* of Rodrigo de Salazar (Quito, 1573, p. 63). *Encomendero* of an *encomendero*, and was Cacique Don Luis White or Indian?

Near Quito in the *parcialidades* Indian caciques had *capitanes* who generally lived near their cacique. A crier (*pregonero*) called out orders to bring in wood or for work of any kind, and the *capitanes* sent out their *cachas*, their messengers. By 1573, Indian officials had lost authority (because caciques were punished for killing or maltreating any subject), and Indian *alcaldes ordinarios* and *alguaciles* had been enstated as juridical officers for minor matters. Major offenders were brought to the city (*ibid.*, p. 96).

²² See, too, Quito, 1573, for a declaration that, although the tribute is larger than before the Spanish conquest, the Indians live in greater peace and security. Law and order for a subject people was not a British invention.

²³ See p. 83.

deeply rooted."²⁴ Saenz suggests that these conditions are due to a lesser survival of aboriginal religion. (There are many survivals that Quiteños and rapid travelers are unaware of.) I would suggest, first, that the early Spanish system of indoctrinating the Indians²⁵ has been more persistent in Ecuador than in Mexico and, second, that the Inca religious system was particularly close to the Catholic and that Catholic acculturation was easier in Ecuador than in Mexico. The Inca conquest in religion, as in government, facilitated the Spanish conquest, as Garcilasso de la Vega, a very early student of acculturation, pointed out. "It has been clearly shown by experience how much more prompt and ready the Indians who had been conquered, governed, and instructed by the Kings Yncas were to receive the gospel than the other neighboring people, to whom the teaching of the Yncas had not yet extended."²⁶

At any rate, the signs of Catholic acculturation are less visible; the old stitches have become absorbed. Some of the stitches may have disappeared, to be sure, with some of the religious suppression that not even Ecuador has been free from. Religious processions are legally proscribed, although the law is not applied to Indians, as witness the little chapel processions of Indians constantly encountered on the roads leading to parish churches. There is a surprising dearth of hilltop or roadside shrines or crosses, although here, too, the law is not always enforced. In a suburb of Quito itself there stands conspicuously on the roadside near the public baths a shrine to El Señor de los Milagros, the Lord of Miracles, the healing Christ. The Orders have not been banished, as in Mexico, and even a sometime restriction against girls' entering a nunnery is not enforced; nor is clerical garb forbidden in public places. However, manifestations of folk religion are generally lapsing.

²⁴ Saenz, p. 76.

²⁵ By *cédula* or royal edict the *encomenderos*, persons granted land and Indians, were ordered to have their Indians taught Christian doctrine (Roys, Scholes, and Adams, pp. 7-9).

²⁶ Garcilasso, I, 61.

CHAPTER II

PEGUCHE

Otavaló, the municipality of about ten thousand White people, which gives its name to the canton, lies 70 miles a little east by north from Quito. It lies at the head of a valley almost 2 miles long, which is flanked on the southeast by the volcano of Imbabura (14,884 feet) and on the northwest by the volcano of Cotacachi (16,301 feet). Otavaló itself is at 8,000 feet, 1,000 feet lower than Quito and 1,000 feet higher than Ibarra, the provincial capital at the north end of the long valley. Imbabura Valley is fertile and copiously watered, lying below the Laguna de San Pablo, which receives the drainage off Imbabura Mountain. Here is the source of some of the streams which flow through northern Ecuador westerly to the Pacific. Just south of the lake is the divide for waters flowing into the Amazonian watershed. In the first great valley across this divide lies the canton of Cayambe. We are to keep in mind that Cayambe is closer to the Oriente, to eastern and forest Ecuador, than is Otavaló. Between the canton of Otavaló and the canton of Cayambe the natural boundary is not formidable, but it is impressive.

In the canton of Otavaló, besides the large municipality of Otavaló, there are many smaller White municipalities or incipient municipalities. All these, together with the Indian settlements, are covered by the parish system¹ that prevails throughout the country. In the early Spanish period, parish and "pueblo" appear to have been coterminous,² but, when the *municipio* became the unit of government, parish boundaries ceased to correspond to secular boundaries. Whatever the Indian "pueblos" were in 1582,³ today in the canton there is no Indian "pueblo"; there are only farm settlements of Indians,⁴ called *parcialidades* by Whites or *llactas*⁵ by Indians, which lie on the margins of White municipalities or haciendas.

¹ See p. 81.

² As were village and parish in early England, where, too, the village has disappeared and the parish has survived. Parish customs of early England are paralleled in many particulars with parish customs (White and Indian) in contemporary Ecuador.

³ Note this early reference to the distribution of population in the Quito district: "The natives live scattered (*apartados*) one *parcialidad* from another. There are few pueblos properly populated" (Quito, 1573, p. 92). Note also that because of boundary trespass one *parcialidad* would fight another, even to wounding and killing (*ibid.*, p. 96).

⁴ *Runa hinti* (Sp. *gente*).

⁵ Under the Incaic decurion grouping of population this term (*llacta*) is applied to one hundred households (Means, p. 292). The term as used in Peguche is indefinite: *Karullactama* means "to a distant country," *tierra lejana*. *Llacta* is also translated as *nación*. *Tribu* is an

Hacienda lands lie in the most fertile or best-watered areas affording rich pasturage. The hacienda of Cusin, for example, covering the entire southwest end of the Laguna de San Pablo, maintains many cows on its pasture land. Smaller haciendas, the hacienda of Peguche and the hacienda of San Vicente, lie between the *parcialidad* of Peguche and Otavalo. The *hacendado* of Peguche is also the owner of the hacienda of Quinchuquí, the *parcialidad* next to Peguche on the north. The *hacendado* lives permanently in Quito, and his properties have the run-down look characteristic of the absentee landlordism so common in the Republic. It is notorious that the Indians produce far more on their small holdings farmed for subsistence than is produced on the large estates where, under the price system, "farming does not pay."

Through Peguche and Quinchuquí there is an abundant flow of water; the stream called Rio Grande or, in Quechua, Jatunyacu ("Big Water"), one of the outlets of the large Laguna de San Pablo,⁶ flows through the hacienda of Peguche, and there is a system of conduits through the *parcialidad* of Peguche. But the Indians own only partial water rights in these conduits. They may wash in them or use the water for drinking or cooking; they may not divert water to irrigate their fields. In time of drought, with water streaming past their failing crops, the best they can do is to pay a Mass in Otavalo for rainfall—unless covertly they irrigate a little by hand. "San Miguel," the cotton mill on the Rio Grande below Peguche, fares better, its proprietor having acquired water rights from the hacienda above. Nor have Peguche folk any pasture land in the valley; they have some mountain pasturage as communal land (Sp. *ejido*, Q. *michínapamba*). Firewood they buy from the hacienda.⁷

Most of the Peguche people own land—a house site and a field next to the house. Some have an additional field or fields. Of 122 households, only 3 households are "hacienda Indians," tenants working out their rent on the hacienda. Economic independence is generally true of the Indians throughout the valley, who are more distinctively landowners than other mountain Indians in Ecuador. Somehow they have managed to retain old lands and have even bought back good hacienda land on Yanaurco, Black Mountain, the great hill just west of Otavalo.

The tenants or *peones* of the hacienda of Peguche live on the hacienda land bordering the *parcialidad*, but there is no wall or demarcation, nor are these peon households cut off in any way from the community life, and they

unfamiliar term. Even the Indians around the Lake of San Pablo, only a few miles distant, are referred to as "other people."

⁶ *Yacu cocha*, "water lake."

⁷ In early Peru, pastures, hunting lands, and forests were used in common, under regulations (Ondegardo, p. 165).

may carry on handicrafts. Their thatched houses look poor, however, and people are said to work on the hacienda only because they are poor and landless. "They would prefer to have their own land," commented Rosita Lema; "it is a more tranquil life, a better life." A peon is allotted from two to four cuadras of land. He is paid five *reales* a day or a cow or bullock for the year. A milkmaid—only women milk the cows—is given milk for her service. Hours are from 8:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M., with Saturday and Sunday off.⁸

Hacienda proprietorship dates back to the eighteenth century, when the encomienda system was yielding to the system of hereditary proprietorship, although even by 1573 small cattle and horse ranches (*estancias*) were founded in the Imbabura Valley (Otavalo, Caranque).⁹ But what of the titles to house sites in White towns or settlements? Perhaps these settlements grew up in some such way as a White settlement is forming today at Peguche. First a chapel, if not church and curacy, then house sites near churchyard or plaza or on a near-by highway are sold or mortgaged by Indians to Whites for *chicheria* or *estanco*, for the store and dwelling of a trader, for the workshop and dwelling of a craftsman. Most of the White villages in the valley consist of a plaza cluster and one long street of houses. Between White town or settlement and hacienda lands in some places it tends to be a tight squeeze for the Indians.

Peguche and neighboring Quinchuquí are telling instances of this squeeze, both in water rights and in pasture if not in arable lands. Some of the Indians lost land when the railroad went through about fifteen years ago. Alongside the railroad two house sites have been sold to White *chicheria* managers, and even earlier on the highroad a corner house site was sold to an *estanguero*, a White immigrant from Colombia. Below him in the road lives a White guitar-maker. In the schoolhouse next the chapel yard lives a White family; the schoolmaster boards with Whites. It is a safe bet that within a decade or so the highroad between Capello's corner and the steep hill descending between hacienda pastures to the cotton mill will become a typical one-street White settlement.

Neighboring Quinchuquí displays a more advanced stage in White penetration than Peguche. Chapel and plaza are near the highway, which is lined with White houses and shops and with a few Indian houses, among them the house of José Cajas, the first Indian in this region to use a Spanish loom.¹⁰ There are other weavers in Quinchuquí, but most men, both White and Indian, are felt hatmakers. The house of one White hatmaker in particular I found of interest, because here I bought the Indian belt loom

⁸ See Appendix, p. 188, for a report on peonage from a school-taught Indian in the province of Pichincha.

⁹ Quito, 1573, p. 71.

¹⁰ See p. 25.

figures shown in Plates XI-XIII and could take a good look around. The man's wife, a White, was the weaver (Pl. XIII). In one of the two small rooms behind the porch she kept her guinea pigs like an *india*, but the rooms were littered up and filthy, unlike those of an *india*. And the woman took orders from her husband as no *india* does.

Quinchuquí and Peguche are only edged by the highway. Back and up lies a self-contained settlement. Through the Peguche fields or along their margins runs a network of trails to which gullies off the highway give access. The entrance is practically hidden from the highway. Even on the side exposed to the railway there is little or no indication of the lines of communication within, of the inner, self-sufficient life of the community. Whites, even the padres, are discouraged from taking short cuts through the settlement. "Too much water, too many savage dogs, too roundabout," they will be told. The Indians are very well aware of the independence that comes from privacy.

Peguche lies about two miles north of Otavalo. No Indians except a few in domestic service live in Otavalo, but Indians from Peguche and all the surrounding *parcialidades* are constant visitors, coming in early in the morning and returning home about the middle of the afternoon. At night no Indians are to be seen on the streets. The Indians are attracted by the daily market, especially by the great Saturday market or markets, perhaps the most outstanding in the country, by the shops and trade depots, by the church services, by the *chicherias*, and by the opportunities for casual little jobs in unloading or transporting, in roofing or repair. They have also to pass through town to the cemetery and to transact all matters of law, criminal or civil, in the town offices. Between Whites and Indians the conspicuous relationship is that of mutual economic convenience, together with a conventional demarcation of other interests. Rarely do Indians cross the charming flowery plaza or sit on its benches, and in the churches they keep to one side, except at their own very early hours or at special services. Relations with the priest do not extend, except in connection with baptism, to even the most casual relations with the congregation.²² In church and elsewhere the attitude of the Indians is not at all subservient; rather is it a matter of keeping in their place as a guaranty of independence. It is more indifferent and impersonal toward Whites than, shall I say, the American Negro attitude; and the nearest comparable relationship I know of is, curiously enough, that between masters and European-born servants in large households of the northeastern Atlantic seaboard.

Indian withdrawal excites the curiosity of White neighbors, who seem

²² Religious separatism was expressed in early Spanish days by having one priest administer the sacraments to the Indians, and another priest administer to the Whites (1580, Valladolid, etc., Stirling, pp. 35, 36). Separatism in general is mentioned in this report in describing the city of Loyola: "The Spaniards do not mix with them [the Indians]" (*ibid.*, p. 33).

glad of a pretext to visit an Indian house and look around. Their staring and their questions are naturally objectionable. They get little information, and that little, if possible, is misleading. The pretext of telling me the car was waiting was used by all the girls in the hotel who, uninvited, would walk into Rosita's bedroom. "Are you sick?" asked María. Receiving no answer, she added, "Probably you are sick with the influenza." The baby was five days old and was tucked away with Rosita in bed, but Rosita did not show off the baby or mention her birth.²² Another time a somewhat tipsy White, a stranger to me, followed me into the corridor, "*Vengal* [Come!]" said Rosita, but to his incoherent speech about being an educated man she paid no attention, and, after he left, the children began to giggle. We all giggled; he had made a fool of himself. "*Chumado* [drunk]," said Rosita calmly, a full and satisfactory explanation.

In the canton of Otavalo land holdings less than 1,000 sucres²³ in value are not taxed, and so small are Peguche holdings that no Peguche people pay taxes. Like Indians elsewhere, however, they are called on for *minga*, communal work for state or Church, road work on the outskirts of Otavalo²⁴ or church repairs. A church *minga* is arranged for informally by the padre;²⁵ a government *minga* by the *comisario municipal*, who sends a messenger from house to house.²⁶ If the order is not obeyed, the messenger returns and confiscates some household property.²⁷ While I was in Otavalo, a town *min-*

²² Probably this was merely Rosita's reaction to obtrusive manners, but I am not certain that she was not expressing an attitude comparable to that of the Forest people, who are very unwilling to show their infants to strangers from fear of bewitchment (Karsten 4:412).

²³ There were 13.70 sucres to the dollar in October, 1942.

²⁴ Paving streets or repairing is done by paid labor, a large proportion Indian.

²⁵ See p. 160.

²⁶ In Inca law, referred to as "the common law," all men and women were obliged to work on public undertakings—building temples and palaces, tilling royal grounds, making bridges, repairing roads. They took turns by families (Garcilasso, II, 33). According to Ondegardo, all the able-bodied people turned out "dressed in the best clothes, and singing" (p. 157). As today, there was no property tax, only participation in public works or in producing tribute. Failure to understand this system in the early days worked great hardship among landowning Indians, whose lands were confiscated on the ground that they belonged to the Inca, hence to the Spanish Crown, or whose lands were taxed directly (*ibid.*, pp. 157-58).

A report made in 1580 about the natives of Valladolid in an inter-Andean valley of eastern Ecuador contains an interesting account of the agricultural work party among these warlike people who resisted the Inca and who did not have chiefs, only war leaders, one town raiding the next town for llamas, guinea pigs, and heads. "They work their land with plows [*tacllas*, foot plows] and the richest ones have the best plantations because some 100 Indian men and Indian women are collected together to plow and they turn back the land to them [the rich ones]. They work until midday and from then until midnight they drink and dance" (Stirling, p. 34).

²⁷ See p. 163. Indians participate in a *minga* because they are patriotic, an Otavaleño may tell you. The system of *minga* is not onerous, today at least and in this area, and it is preferable to a land or market tax; but that it is viable through "patriotism" is one of those many cloaks worn everywhere by "patriotism."

ga was held to level a short stretch of road leading into the highway to the north, and most of the able-bodied men and women of Peguche were called upon. They worked down the road in rows, several men and women to a row, talking and laughing—a gay party. They brought their own implements and their lunch; the municipality furnished drinks, as is customary for *mingas*.¹⁸ The work began after 10:00 A.M. and closed before late afternoon—a short day, not more than five or six hours. Then the Indians went home. In the evening there was a procession by Otavaleños, and the brass band played at the newly opened road. Indians to work, Whites to celebrate—rather different from communal work in parts of Mexico.¹⁹

The Otavalo church *mingas* I saw were smaller, a dozen Indian men or less, to repair a court or reconstruct the foundation of an altar. Here, too, there was a spirit of alacrity.²⁰

Hacienda *mingas* are also held for agricultural work—clearing land, plowing, and harvesting wheat or barley—or in emergencies such as a freshet. I heard of no hacienda *mingas* close to Otavalo, but the large hacienda of Cusin holds *mingas* with San Rafael Indians.²¹ The Cusin superintendent told me that his headman would arrange for it through a head Indian, an Indian *cabecilla*. Any special employment of Indians was through a *cabecilla*.²² The evening I spent at Cusin had a feudal flavor, as under a dim

¹⁸ Cf. Garcilasso, II, 109.

¹⁹ Cf. Parsons 2:501-3.

²⁰ This too differs, but in another way, from a Mexican picture, an early Yucateco report from an unhappy priest. "One Monday, after saying mass for the souls, in front of the altar I said to the [Indian] governor, Francisco Pat: 'Son, I cannot say mass at this altar. It is necessary to raise it, and this wall also, so that the holy crucifix may be set up properly. Send me half a dozen Indians to fix it.' An old cacique named Juan Chan answered me: 'Be silent, Father. Do not order us about so much, or we will bind you and your interpreter and throw you in a canoe from the other side; because our master [*encomendero*] orders us not to obey you nor do what you command. He orders us to make haste with his tribute and attend to our milpas.' God knows how I felt. I went out from among them filled with pain, seeing that an Indian had treated me with insolence. I remained for two days without going out of my house" (Roys, Scholes, and Adams, pp. 25-26).

Montejo, the conqueror of Yucatan, lost no time in fixing "rules for the natives touching their services to the city" of Chichén Itzá (Landa, p. 22). *Tequiso*, or *minga*, was of Spanish as well as of Indian provenience.

²¹ There are only three or four Indian houses close to the hacienda, thatched houses high up on the mountain slope, south of the hacienda. The superintendent knew little or nothing about any of the Indians of the district. His business was to provide Otavalo with milk and the military and others with horses. In his youth he had studied engineering in Troy, New York, and in that day, if not today, sociology was not part of the technological curriculum. His family lives in Quito—absenteeism within absenteeism.

²² For "little heads" in Cayambe see the Appendix, p. 188.

In Cayambe the *mayordomo* asks the *patrón* for money to buy rum with which to invite the Indians to the *minga* on the appointed day. *All who have committed themselves by accepting the rum report on that day.* At 9:00 A.M. they are given *chicha* and rum; for lunch, two pounds of boiled meat, a good plate of hominy, and a gourd of *chicha*. They rest an hour and then work until 5:00 P.M.

lantern on the veranda the superintendent talked with his headman and that man's headman about the affairs of the day. At a still early hour I closed my window shutter—there was no window glass—and by the light of a candle went to bed to keep warm.

The hacienda of Cusin is visited by Peguche folk to buy wool or animals, and the cattle market at Otavalo is a conspicuous meeting place of Whites and Indians. A few enterprising Peguche weavers and traders even go to Quito, by train or bus. But this adventuring is quite recent, and one gets the impression that the valley folk are not travelsome. The most enterprising person in all Peguche, Rosita Lema, had never been across the valley to Cotacachi.

About the world at large Rosita and others of Peguche have little or no knowledge. They have heard of the Oriente and of cannibalistic Jibaros;²³ Colombia and Venezuela are known by name, but Mexico and North America are wholly unknown, and, curiously enough, Peru. Vaguely they refer to Inca *rey*, to the obsidian or potsherds they turn up in plowing as Inca money (*plata de Inca*) or Inca jars (*olla de Inca*), but no world before the advent of the Spaniards is conceived of, nor any part of the world today as unoccupied by Spaniards. That there were few if any Spaniards in parts of my "land" was indeed surprising information. Once I was asked if the sun rose and set in my "land."²⁴

Worldly wise as are Peguche folk in some ways, how should they know about the sun in the outer world? The Church has a reason for teaching them about heaven and hell but not about the sun, and until quite recently the state has been indifferent to secular education for Indians. The little ungraded, one-room school at Peguche was opened by the canton only two years ago. In Otavalo the schools are open to Indians but are little used. In the school for girls, under the secretary of education, there was one Indian girl out of the enrolment of seventy; in the boys' school of Diez de Agosto, out of an enrolment of a hundred and eighty pupils, there were fifteen Indian boys, all in the two lowest grades. In these schools there is no Quechua-speaking teacher.²⁵

²³ See p. 132, n. 43.

²⁴ See, too, p. 151.

²⁵ No Quechua grammar was to be had in Otavalo, where there is no bookstore, or in Ibarra, where there is one. The best-provided bookstore in Quito had no publications on Quechua. In the rural normal school in Chimborazo Province no Quechua is spoken. Quechua is being taught by the adopted Indian son of a Colombian immigrant to Peguche. This well-informed and charming young "professor" had been a pupil at Diez de Agosto in Otavalo. He is married to a White woman of San Pablo. I enjoyed his acquaintance while he was on vacation visiting his father. Perhaps the Otavaleña schoolmistress had him in mind when she said: "When an Indian learns Spanish well enough to teach, he separates himself from his own people, so there are no Indians to teach Indian children."

CHAPTER III

TECHNOLOGY AND MATERIAL CULTURE

The economic life of Peguche is diversified but, from house to house, quite uniform. Every house is surrounded by tillable land which is cultivated close up to the house, leaving only a small yard on one side. On this side opens a small space half-inclosed by a low wall (Pl. II) or a portico or corridor of lathe-turned posts set in stone blocks. The corridor of every house opens to the west, that is, the house turns its back on the east whence blow the strong winds of the dry season.¹ In the corridor (Sp.-Q. *kordor*) or walled inclosure most of the household activities are carried on, cooking excepted. Practically, people live out of doors during daylight. It is camp life.

The houses are of two types: with thatched peaked roof and low walls of uncut stones set in mud or clay² or with high walls of pounded earth, the peaked roof tiled. Walls are made by throwing the earth at hand and some water into formwork or a crib of solid wood, the lower part buried in the ground and the upper projections lashed with wire. Men stand on top and tamp each fresh layer with a squared ten-foot wooden pestle, narrowing at both ends and fortified with a metal band.³ Tiles or thatch are laid over mountain bamboo. Plume or *tampas* grass (*sigse*) is used in thatching. Sometimes a few tiles are laid along the ridge of the thatch roof (Pl. III). The thatched house usually consists of two buildings, close together, a kitchen and a sleeping-room which is also the storeroom. The Hispanicized house consists of only one building, but it has only two rooms, a kitchen and a bedroom-storeroom which do not open onto each other but only onto the corridor. The actual construction varies, but the way of using both types of building is the same.⁴

In both types the roof is peaked, but the thatched house is low and the walls of the tiled house are high, twenty feet or so. In neither type of house are there windows, but in the high-walled house there are ventilation or smoke holes, from four to six, in each of the kitchen walls except the wall

¹ *Relación de Otavalo*, p. 108 (but cf. p. 115).

² An aboriginal way of building referred to in Peru as the *pirka* type. The roofs of even the great buildings of Peru were of thatch.

³ Such concrete-like walls were made in early Peru (Means, p. 524), although Garcilasso reports that in Cuzco "mud walls" were not built, only mold-made, straw-mixed adobe walls.

⁴ The early Peruvians never built an upper story, "nor did they join their buildings together but each one stood by itself. . . . The rooms were divided and surrounded by large or small enclosures, so that they might not communicate with each other" (Garcilasso, II, 110).

PLATE II



YARD AND CORRIDOR OF AN INDIAN HOUSE

PLATE III



TILES ALONG THE RIDGE OF THE THATCHED ROOF

dividing it from the other room. These openings are halfway up and five or six inches square.

At both ends of the sleeping-room there is a platform or loft (Sp. *sobrado*; Q. *soberado*), reached by ladder, which serves as granary. There is no outside granary. The loft, or half-loft,⁵ is supported by one squared rafter, extending from side wall to side wall about eight feet from the end wall, and, tied under the rafter at right angles, by eight beams projecting from the end wall. Under these are tied, parallel with the rafter, the bamboos (Sp. *carrizo*; Q. *sukus*) which constitute the loft floor. Fiber ties, no nails.⁶

In Rosita's lofts the corn is piled by color—in one loft a pile of the hard white corn called *morocho* and, at the other end, a pile of red ears; in the other loft, a pile of speckled or variegated ears. The piles are not stacked in any order. There are no religious emblems in the lofts. Seed corn, ears selected for size and color, are usually strung over a line from beam to beam.

Ladders are roughly made, the rungs often missing or fortified by string. Even in town the ladders are poorly made. Carpentry is not an advanced craft, and metal tools are inadequate. I saw no notched ladders. On the outer wall of some houses an exceedingly flimsy, narrow ladder runs up to a little platform under the eaves for the chickens to roost on—a makeshift for a tree roost (Pl. IV).⁷

The kitchen hearth lies in a corner, diagonally, with fire stones (*tulpa rumi*) actually in less confusion than they appear at first sight. Three stones are for the boiling or stew pot and two more for the grill for toasting, and between the two sets lies a stone which serves both sets. Fires are built in the characteristic Indian way at the tips of the sticks. Rosita describes her fires and the order of her hearthstones as meticulously as any White American might describe her electric stove.

In the house corner⁸ in line with the hearth corner, and also placed diagonally, stand the two *chicha* jars, huge pottery jars (Sp. *pundo*, *pondo*; Q. *marma*), their conical bases packed in straw and buried in the earthen floor.⁹ The pottery water jar stands in the corridor or yard, its base, also conical, supported on stones or in a tree crotch (Fig. 1). Water jars and all pots

⁵ Cf. Gillen, Angochagua, Fig. 1.

⁶ Cf. Garcilasso, II, 110.

⁷ Cf. Gillen, Angochagua, Pls. 20 and 21.

⁸ The use of corners is notable, as house corners are mentioned as sacrosanct in early Peru. "They held these corners to be sacred, and treated them as oratories or sanctuaries" (Garcilasso, I, 108, 116), i.e., the house or family shrine was in a corner, and perhaps other shrines, for priests and witches entered "corners and secret places" to converse with the "devil," i.e., spirits (*ibid.*, p. 132; II, 192). A sick man may offer food to the dead and pour out *chicha* in a corner of his house (Molina, p. 64). Cf. the Zapotec practice of calling a wandering soul by speaking into a water jar in the corners of the house (Parsons 2:122).

⁹ The equally large Jibaro jars for fermentation are sunk into the ground, more deeply than in Peguche, and covered with strips of bast (Karsten 4:330-31, Pl. X).

are carried on the back in the carrying cloth. A pot may be set in a basket, but there are no ring bases or stands for the pots. They may be stoppered with a bunch of leaves, no clay covers. Near the hearth lies a brush broom (Q. *piche*).

In another corner of the kitchen may be built, again diagonally against the walls, a high bedstead of bamboo, and under this in straw live the guinea pigs when they are not scurrying around the kitchen left free to them. Guinea pigs are not penned outdoors, since it is believed that they would die of exposure to cold. (White people in Quito, however, do raise them

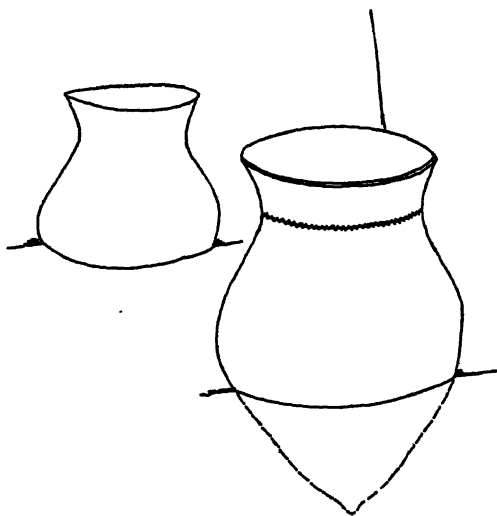


FIG. 1.—*Pondo* or *chicha* jars with conical bases

outdoors.) There are always fleas, said Rosita, in a house sheltering guinea pigs.

Along the back wall of the kitchen extends a low table or bench, a plank supported at each end by a small boulder. The kitchen bed is an extra. The family sleeps in the other room on mats on the ground.¹⁰ In a few families the parents use a bedstead of *carrizo* covered by a mat.¹¹ Sometimes the posts of the bedstead are low and sometimes quite high.

In the bedroom-storeroom the chest trunks of familiar Spanish type are kept, and stores of all kinds are in the circular but square-cornered basket (Q. *tasa*) of plaited *zuro* (Sp. *carrizo de monte*), which is made in all sizes by male Indians of Quichinche. There is generally a bamboo table on high

¹⁰ Ground mats were slept on in early Quito (Quito, 1573, p. 93).

¹¹ The Spanish mattress was not acceptable in early Peru (Garcilasso, II, 101). Adults, like infants, get adjusted to hard or soft beds. The rod mat-covered bedstead was used in Yucatan (Landa, p. 32) and is used today by Zapotecs.

PLATE IV



NARROW LADDER AND LITTLE PLATFORM UNDER THE EAVES; A
MAKESHIFT FOR A TREE ROOST FOR CHICKENS

PLATE V



SHEEP ARE OFTEN PASTURED ALONG THE ROADSIDE BY LITTLE BOYS

posts along one wall, but this does not serve, as in Zapotec houses, as an altar. There is no table below the holy pictures, which are fastened to a mat on the wall. When a saintly image from church or chapel is being entertained in a house, it is placed on a low table or support in the center of the room. There are no privately owned images—a curious lack in the eyes of the Mexican ethnologist.

Poles over which clothes, blankets, etc., are laid hang from the roof of the bedroom or corridor. A board as a shelf may hang next the kitchen wall. To the corridor posts tree crotches and cow horns are bound as pegs; and in corridor and kitchen short poles project from the wall to which a chicken, a piece of meat, or a basket may be hung. Through such a projecting stick in Rosita's corridor were stuck eggshells from a newly hatched brood, "so the chicks would not die."

In Rosita's corridor there hangs also a large nest made roughly of bamboo and twigs for a pair of pigeons. Her chickens²² roost in one of the three trees²³ in the small yard, and by day, if they encroach upon grain spread on a mat, they will be tied by the leg to a stake. A young plant will be protected by a pot with the base broken away. Water taken from the wooden *batea*, or trough, is set out in a potsherd for the chickens and pigeons, and sometimes an ear of corn is shelled out to them.

Little pigs are also tied to a stake when they are not being taken out to pasture along the roadside. In the yard the kitchen refuse is fed to them: pea or bean pods, squash rind, potato peelings, corn chaff. After they grow up, pigs are fattened to a great size in a corral. Rosita's pig will be sold in the Otavalo pig market. Peguche people keep only *puercos de pastor*, not *puercos de corral*. Pork is eaten in Peguche, but it is bought in the market. Pig dung is the best kind of manure. "That is the reason we keep pigs."

Indian-owned sheep²⁴ are often pastured also along the roadside, by little boys or girls (see Pl. V) and corraled at night. Sometimes a dog accompanies the flock. Stranger dogs may attack the flock. I saw a lamb bleeding from the throat after it had been bitten by a hacienda dog, according to the heartbroken little shepherd. Stranger dogs also break down maize stalks to eat the corn. I have seen Andrea bring in an armful of devastated stalks.

²² "Cock," Sp.-Q. *gallo*, "chicken," Sp. *gallina*, Q. *atalpa*. Garcilasso reports that, when he and other Cuzco boys heard a cock crow, they shouted "Atahualpa!" in derision of the treacherous Inca. Hence fowl, "among the first things from Spain that were introduced into Peru," came to be called *atahualpa* (Garcilasso, II, 476, 482-83). But see Nordenskiöld 2:1 ff. Nordenskiöld suggests that the Quito-Inca was named for the fowl in accordance with an Inca practice of giving bird names to chiefs. The Spanish fowl was introduced very early into South America, through trade reaching some tribes before the Spaniards themselves.

²³ Sp. *lechero*; Q. *pingul*. There are no fruit trees in Peguche. In general, fruit is imported into Otavalo from the lower and warmer end of the valley.

²⁴ Q. *jama* (llama)—an interesting bit of verbal acculturation, just as is also the Spaniards calling llama "sheep" (Garcilasso, II, 377).

Every Peguche household keeps one or more dogs as watchdogs or better, say, as announcers of unfamiliar visitors.¹⁵ Alone of the domestic animals, dogs are named—"like Christians." One of Rosita's dogs was called "Alparó," for a president of the Republic;¹⁶ another, "Tiver" (meaning unknown or withheld);¹⁷ and another, "Recuerdo." Mementa, Sarjento, Kurunil (Coronel), and Bravo are favorite names.

A few bullocks and burros are owned at Peguche and kept under sheds near the house. Their fodder of cornstalks may be stacked slantwise against a center pole in the yard. A burro costs from 80 to 100 sucres. One well-to-do man pastures three burros in a meadow of the hacienda of Peguche at a sucre each a month. This pasture is not far from the man's house and much more convenient for him than the mountain land where he turns out two horses. All near-by pasturage is owned by the hacienda. All Indian plots are planted to crops.

The plot (*Q. alpa* or *huasipungo*, "house gate") of one acre, more or less, is planted close up to house and yard (Pls. II-III), with several crops together: maize,¹⁸ beans,¹⁹ quinoa,²⁰ and *zambo*, a bottle gourd which is cooked.²¹ Beans (*porotos*), as elsewhere, are trained up the cornstalks. Quinoa is sown on the margins of the field, as are also a small white lupine-like bean called *chochos* (*Q. taori*)²² and, here and there, a little "sugar cane" (*Sp. caña*; *Q. sara* [maize] *viro*),²³ to be sucked. Potatoes, the important food staple of Ecuador as of Peru, are, of course, planted separately.

November is the principal time of sowing. In this month are sown maize, beans, quinoa, gourds, wheat (*Sp.-Q., trigo*), and barley, which latter, on the small Indian holdings, is a more favored crop than wheat. Potatoes are seeded in July or August or according to locality at various other times.²⁴

¹⁵ Among Jibaro the approach of raiders is made known by the dogs, posted for this purpose (Stirling, p. 54). For supernatural visitors see the Appendix, p. 213.

¹⁶ Eloy Alfaro, reputed to be of Indian descent and a liberal in Indian policy, although during his administration (1897) the so-called *concertaje*, or imprisonment for debt, was preserved (Saenz, pp. 138-39). See p. 188.

¹⁷ According to Anibal Buitron, of Otavalo, the name is derived from the Tiber River in Italy. It is frequently used for dogs by both Whites and Indians.

¹⁸ White, yellow, blue, black, red, and speckled corn, hard corn (*Sp. duro*; *Q. morocho*).

¹⁹ "Twelve different kinds."

²⁰ Quinoa (*Chenopodium quinoa*) was sown with maize in Peru (Garcilasso, II, p. 5 and note).

²¹ ?Peruvian *xapallu* (*ibid.*, p. 360).

²² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 358, *taori*. *Chochos* are eaten throughout Ecuador in soup or mixed with chili (*aji*) as a condiment or whole and dry with salt after being steeped in water three days and nights to remove the bitterness.

²³ The Peruvians extracted sugar from maize stalks before they ripened (*ibid.*, p. 357). Stalks of maize are still used in this way.

²⁴ Near Quito potatoes were seeded in December to be harvested in April-May (Quito, 1573, p. 71). Wheat, barley, maize, and beans were planted and harvested at the same times as in Spain (*ibid.*).

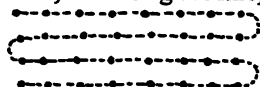
A large potato field adjacent to José Lema's land was seeded in February.

Barley is the first crop to mature; the second is quinoa, both in March, and potatoes begin to appear in the market. The gourds ripen. In April a large flat bean (*habas*) and sweet corn²⁵ come in, and maize leaves (*sarapanga*) are gathered for fodder. The small beans, of which there are many different colors, ripen in June, and at this time there is a second crop of quinoa.²⁶ The big harvest of maize (white, yellow, red, black, speckled) and *morocho* (*duro, fuerte*),²⁷ a hard white maize (two varieties), is in August, and in August, too, wheat is harvested.

Clearings are burned over but not house lots. Ashes are known to be a good fertilizer, but they dry up the beans. Next to pig dung, sheep dung is the preferred manure;²⁸ it is better than cattle dung. Fields are not left fallow, nor are grass crops grown to be plowed in. There is no irrigation. In drought a rain-sending saint²⁹ will be carried from house to house and alms begged to pay for a Mass.³⁰ A Mass will also be paid to a saint to check the rain or drizzle (*lancha*) which may rot crops, particularly beans and potatoes. Hail (Sp. *granizadas*) is good at planting time but bad when plants are young or maturing. It often falls in September and October.

Men plow with a team of bullocks, and women follow to break up the clods.³¹ Women do the sowing, and both men and women harvest the maize.³² (In Cayambe in barley or wheat harvesting the women, wives and daughters, glean.)³³

The plow is a pole about fifteen feet long with a metal plowshare; it is fastened in the usual way to the yoke. With her spadelike digging-stick,³⁴ the sower first marks out the line to follow in sowing and then, retracting the line, digs the hole clusters spaced about two feet apart.



²⁵ *Tierna*, a large-kerneled white ear called *choclo*, in distinction to *maíz* and *morocho*.

²⁶ March quinoa = *kinua yura*; June quinoa = *chaucha kinua*.

²⁷ In Inca Peru there were two classes of maize, hard (*muruchu*) and tender, which was the more prized. In Garcilasso's day only *muruchu* had been introduced into Spain (Garcilasso, II, 355).

²⁸ Llama dung was used in a part of Peru too cold for maize; but human manure was considered the best. It was collected, dried, and pulverized for the time of sowing (Garcilasso, II, 10-11).

²⁹ See p. 108.

³⁰ See the Appendix, for prayer to the moon.

³¹ As in Peru. The Peruvian foot plow was known in the sixteenth century in Quito (Quito, 1573, p. 95).

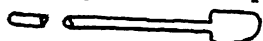
³² In Inca Peru "in the work of the field both men and women were engaged in helping one another" (Garcilasso, I, 318).

³³ See the Appendix, p. 184.

³⁴ In Inca Peru the sowing was "done by making holes with thick stakes" (Garcilasso, II, 13).

The five holes in each cluster are about a span apart, from tip of little finger to tip of thumb, and the seeds dropped into them severally are: three kernels of maize, two *poroto* beans, two *haba* beans, and two pips of the *sambo* gourd. Each cluster is smoothed over with the foot, the feet alternated as the sower progresses. Quinoa is also sown but only at the margins of the field, and no hole is dug for this seed; it is merely sprinkled on the surface, for quinoa seed will rot if planted deep.

The digging-stick (*palura*)³⁵ is of eucalyptus wood, rough hewn and home-made, the handle about 3½ feet, the paddle about 8 inches, thinning down from 1½ inches to a quarter of an inch around the curved tip (Pl. VI).



The long-handled spade (*shayyapala*) has a paddle of iron hafted in line with the handle, like the Mexican *coa*, or at a slight angle. The hafting is Spanish.³⁶ The hoe or mattock (Sp.-Q. *asadung*) used in cultivating or planting consists of a long-handled (4 feet) crotched stick with strip of iron bound to the tip (Pl. VII).³⁷ For cutting maize, barley, or a quinoa a small sickle (Sp. *hoz*; Q. *osis*) is used, and for cutting wood or anything else a machete-like two-foot blade curved only at the tip is employed. Modern axes or small knives are scarce or lacking.

Land holdings that are not bounded by some natural feature such as a *quebrada* (gully or ravine) are divided by low mounds of earth topped with maguey; in a few cases, by concrete walls and a gate; by trail, or by small boulders as boundary stones.³⁸ As the plots or fields are not large at Peguche, the single household seems able to undertake all the agricultural work,

sure or sanction against selling to White people. Small house sites along the railroad and on the highway have been sold to Whites. The White guitar-maker on the road also owns a plot behind his house which he has fenced off, by the way, with barbed wire, an innovation in Peguche.³⁹ When I

³⁵ In Cayambe, *palondra*, and the tip is described as coming to a sharper point. The term is not Quechua. Possibly it is derived from Spanish, *palo duro*, "hard wood," originally referring to *chonta*, the hard black wood from the Oriente. Jibaro use a *chonta* pole for digging-stick in sowing maize, and this may have been formerly the Imbabura digging-stick.

³⁶ Uhle figures such a hoe in copper from Cochasquí (Pichincha) (*Kultur und Industrie südamerikanischer Völker* [Berlin, 1889], Vol. I, Pl. 24, Fig. 1). This is cited and figured by Nordenskiöld 1: Fig. 37b. Illustration that a newly borrowed form may be copied in an old medium.

³⁷ See Nordenskiöld 1: Fig. 56c. This hoe was also used anciently with copper (see Cobo, IV, 190, cited by Nordenskiöld 1: 111, n. 1).

³⁸ As in Peru (Garcilasso, I, 190).

³⁹ See the Appendix, p. 186.

⁴⁰ Apparently in imitation, in one lot the Indian owners have draped some cut blackberry briars around the cornstalks—"against thieves."

PLATE VI



THE DIGGING-STICK IS MADE OF EUCALYPTUS WOOD

PLATE VII



USING THE HOE OR MATTOCK

asked Rosita if she could or would sell their land to a Blanco, she answered that she could but that she would not; she and José *wanted to leave it to the children*. It is probably safe to say it is the family tie that holds the lands of the *parcialidad* together rather than any sense of local solidarity. At Cayambe accumulating land is condemned as a form of miserliness.⁴²

Peguche cookery is simple: boiling (stewing included) and toasting are the two processes;⁴³ gruels of maize (*morocho*), barley, or quinoa,⁴³ boiled beans,⁴⁴ maize, squash (*zambos* and *zapallos*), and potatoes, and toasted or roast sweet maize are staple foods. Extras are cauliflower, cabbage, onions, and carrots, all boiled, and chili ground on an eight-inch-high stone mortar.



Only a few wild plants are used: watercress⁴⁵ from the rivulets and the leaves from a "wild turnip." Garlic is cooked with meat. (It is good to keep a bit of garlic in the purse as a safeguard against loss.) Only a few families can afford meat, which is generally in a stew, cooked only once a week⁴⁶ but lasting over a few days, when barley or quinoa broth becomes the main dish. Stewed guinea pig⁴⁷ and chicken are only festive dishes. *Boda* (*buda*), in Spanish *mazamorra*,⁴⁸ is the staple festival dish. It consists of meal of maize parched first and then ground,⁴⁹ cooked in lamb broth, and

⁴² See the Appendix, p. 187.

⁴³ As in early Peru (Garcilasso, II, 157, 359). In place of bread, maize was toasted or boiled in the grain.

⁴⁴ Quinoa has to be washed well to get out its bitter taste. The wash water is mixed with *penco blanco* (maguey) to wash cotton or woolen clothes (Cayambe).

⁴⁵ Cayambe: Beans are cooked with onion, lard, and salt. In some families (20 per cent!) the water in which beans, lentils, have been cooked is thrown away because, they say, it causes menstrual flow; it is even dangerous for a woman to pass by in the street where this liquid has been thrown, her monthly will be excessive and sickening. (Because of this unscientific belief, adds Segundo Félix Maldonado, people throw away the nourishment, the substances they need, and serve themselves the pulp. Knowledge of vitamins spreads.)

⁴⁶ Cf. Garcilasso, II, 119.

⁴⁷ In distinction to Whites, who are said to eat meat and potatoes every day.

⁴⁸ Cayambe: Roast guinea pig. They remove hair and viscera; inside they put salt ground with pepper, cumin seed, garlic, onion, and color (*?achiote*) and let it salt for a day. They run a long thin stick through the length of the body, tying the paws to the stick. They hold it close to the fire of glowing charcoal, rubbing pork lard over it and pricking it with an awl, that the heat and lard may penetrate, until it is well browned.

To prepare a *mediano* of *aji de cuy*: to roast guinea pigs and roast chicken are added potatoes cooked after peeling, cut-up hard-boiled eggs, and sauce of milk, onions, coloring (*?achiote*) and peanutsashed with salt and ground. In the platter or *batea* there is also cheese.

The hair of guinea pigs and chicken feathers are thrown into the street, they say, in order that guinea pigs and chickens may increase.

⁴⁹ According to dictionary, "crumbs," "small bits"; a sort of corn pap, much used in Peru and Colombia.

⁵⁰ Barley is also parched before grinding.

colored with *achiote*. Hominy (*mote*)⁵⁰ or maize kernels boiled with lime to remove the skin is a supplementary dish. Bread from the town bakeries is quite generally served; there is no home baking, since there is no oven.⁵¹ The corn bran (*shushushkahupa*) is steamed in a potsherd on top of the boiling pot. To remove the bran,⁵² the meal is winnowed in a bowl and then sifted by rubbing it over a round sieve of horsehair and a black wooden frame called *sedasu*. The fine meal is called *haku*. The Mexican maize *tortilla* is unknown, and the lack of this standard dish greatly differentiates Ecuadorian Indian cooking, food-serving, and housework from the cookery and domestic activity of Mexico. Fingers or spoons take the place of the *tortilla* dipper, and there is far less grinding.⁵³ Meal has to be ground regularly only for the light maize gruel which is the staple drink at meals, like Mexican *atole*. Coffee and milk are not drunk.

There are four mills in Otavalo, but they are not used by Indians, nor do they use the little hand mills (coffee-grinders) they see used by Cholo neighbors. The metates and grinding-stones of Peguche are cut by a White from a quarry in the hacienda *quebrada*. Rosita's metate is kept in the corridor carefully covered with a cloth when not in use. It is a footless oblong block, eighteen by ten inches, about a foot high, with a narrow rim on three sides. The grinding-stone is a rounded oblong, not the "half-moon" of the early Peruvians. But Garcilasso's description of grinding will do for a Peguche grinder: "From time to time she collects what she is grinding into the middle of the tile [metate] with one hand to regrind it, while with the other she holds the stone."⁵⁴ The large round grill (Sp. *tiesto*; Q. *kajána*) is of clay or metal. (The Mexican *comal* is unfamiliar.) There are long-handled wooden stirring spoons or ladles, a clay caldron (Sp. *caldera*; Q. *manga*), a wooden troughlike *batea* (the kitchen sink), gourd cups, and gourd food bowls. These gourd bowls are often decorated with incised designs,⁵⁵ the only attempt at decorative art outside of weaving and embroidery that I saw in the valley.

There are only two regular meals, one at a late morning hour and another before dark; but early, after rising, there may be a bite heated up from sup-

⁵⁰ *Moti* (Garcilasso, II, 357). *Muti* = maize boiled for hours (Karsten); reboiling, says Garcilasso (II, 119).

⁵¹ None in early Peru; bread was cooked in a dry pot (*ibid.*, p. 229).

⁵² *Afrecho*. This term is obsolete in Peru (*ibid.*, p. 356, n. 1).

⁵³ The same condition prevailed in Inca Peru, where, as today in our valley, boiled or toasted maize was generally eaten, instead of homemade corn bread, which was a ritual food (*ibid.*, pp. 355-56).

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 356.

⁵⁵ The designs are very similar to the spirit designs painted on Jibaro house doors (Karsten 4: Pl. XVII, see, too, Fig. 9) and on eating and drinking vessels (*ibid.*, p. 492) against spirit attack. The cross design on the Imbabura gourds suggests that here, too, spirit attack is, or once was, guarded against. For the Brazilian concept of danger from food see Wagley 1: 258.

per⁵⁶ or a bit of toasted corn (Sp. *tostado*; Q. *kancha*),⁵⁷ and in the afternoon a lunch of toasted corn, "very good for the stomach," popcorn, *chochos* (the lupine bean), sometimes goat cheese, may be in order, with hot chocolate cooked in water as a treat. It is proper at any hour of the day to offer a visitor refreshment, so gruels or boiled beans are generally kept on hand. For such hospitality the woman of the household is responsible, since women are the custodians of the food supply. For meals, seated on box or maguey chunk or mat,⁵⁸ the household members gather around the woman who distributes the food. Even on the road a woman will carry the food and distribute it to the man or men with her. On the other hand, men distribute the drinks.

Asua (Q.), fermented maize, referred to as *chicha* or in English as "corn beer," is the staple drink. It is home brewed only for the San Juan festival; at other times it is bought in the White drink yards called *chicherias*, either for home consumption or, more generally, to be drunk on the spot. *Chicha* is cheap: one real the liter. At festivals two bowlfuls of *boda* are served free with each liter. The house of feasting is generally referred to as *boda wasi*, "boda house."

Sugar may be put into *chicha* to make it strong. The home-brewed San Juan *chicha* is made from sprouted maize (*jora*).⁵⁹ The kernels (Q. *kiki*), of very tender maize, are laid in the yard, watered, and covered with the leaves of *hurapanga*, a tall shrub with small white flower umbels. The kernels are watered thrice a day for three days, when they sprout. The inch-long sprouts are left three weeks to dry in the sun. Then three basketfuls are ground. The *jora* meal is cooked (soaked?) with water in a very large metal caldron. This liquid is then put into the huge clay jars called *pundo* inside the house and left with a cloth over the top and sealed

⁵⁶ Cayambe: In some Hispanicized families there is an early cooked breakfast. Rarely at a meal is there more than one dish, which is either salt or sweet. "Because food is eaten as nature produces it without combinations of any kind the stomach makes no acids, so people almost never wash the stomach, nor do they wash the mouth which stays sweet, and many have white teeth."

This distinction between salt meal (*comida de sal*) and sweet meal seems fundamental. The salt meal consists of riced barley or of a *colada* of maize flour, to which chopped onion, lard, raisins, and meat may be added, and then salt. The sweet meal (of what?) they prepare with *chahuarmishqui* (maguey juice, unfermented) or, lacking this, with *panela* (brown sugar), which is also used at wakes, in Holy Week, and at Finados (All Souls).


⁵⁷ But Garcilasso (II, 357) says it should be pronounced *camcha*.

⁵⁸ There are tables in a few Peguche houses, but they are used only to serve meals to White guests. The mats (*tatora*) are made by men and women of San Rafael from the reeds of the Lake of San Pablo. A mat costs from one to one and a half reals according to size.

⁵⁹ Cf. Garcilasso, II, 357. "Some Indians who are more fond of inebriety than their fellows steep the maize until it sprouts, and then mash it in the same water, and keep it until it ferments. This produces a very strong liquor which intoxicates at once. . . . The Yncas prohibited its use . . . but since their time I am told that some vicious men have begun to use it."

by string around the neck. It ferments for three days.⁶⁰ All this is done by women.

The *chicheria* is a large walled yard and kitchen kept by Cholos and used exclusively by Indians.⁶¹ There are several *chicherias* on all the roads leading out of Otavalo; in Peguche there are two side by side on the railroad. These are patronized every afternoon. The town *chicherias* are patronized every Saturday and Sunday, on saints' days, and in connection with family rituals: baptisms, weddings, and funerals. The party will stop at the *chicheria* on their way home. The liquor is served warm, in a large bowl with a small gourd floating on top from which the purchaser, the family senior or host, will distribute the liquor to his group, men and women.⁶² *Chicherias*, as well as *estancos*, where rum is sold, are state licensed and taxed, in Otavalo 18 sucres a month. The excise duties of Ecuador form a large part of the government revenue,⁶³ and the bulk of this is contributed by Indians who pay indirectly before drinking and directly in fines after drinking.⁶⁴

There are several potters in Peguche, most of them living on the south side opposite the great hill called Cotama, from which their clay is fetched by a man in the family. The pebbly, sandy clay, placed on a mat in the yard, is beaten with a flat wooden flail , then ground on the mat with a large unworked boulder, naturally rounded or convex on one side so that it can be readily rolled from side to side. It is heavy work. Thoroughly broken up, the clay is sifted onto another mat through a sieve of punctured sheepskin, homemade if not aboriginal. It comes out very fine, ready to be wetted and rolled into balls for use—no special tempering is needed, as inferably there is enough sand in the clay.

The potter kneels to a flat unworked stone, takes a small handful from one of the mud balls, kneads it into a cube, presses her index finger into the

⁶⁰ Cayambe: The maize germinates for eight days; then they stack it up for two or three days, blanketing it well with sacking. Then the *jora* is brought into the sun to dry out. They grind it by hand or at the mill. They soak the meal in a *pondo*, thirty liters of water to an arroba. The next day they pass it through a sieve to separate the mash from the liquid. They cook the liquid well, let it cool a bit, and filter it through a woolen cloth (*bayeta*) placed on the mouth of the *pondo* and well tied on. The kind of *mazamorra* that remains unfiltered on top of the cloth is called *concho*; the liquid that has filtered through is the *chicha* proper, which will now ferment.

⁶¹ See Saenz, p. 86, for a good picture of the *chicheria*, which he defines as a cross between Mexican *fonda*, "hostelry," and *cantina*, "bar." It is this and something more. See pp. 99-103, 105, 182.

⁶² For further particulars see pp. 57-58.

⁶³ Saenz, pp. 87-88.

⁶⁴ See p. 124. Cf. Central America (Bunzel, pp. 362-63). Fines were worked off on the plantations, so drunkenness was encouraged. "Take *aguardiente* away from the Indian and what will become of coffee?" said a Guatemala coffee-planter. "Until very recently," remarks Dr. Bunzel, "the alcoholism of the Indians was an essential part of the whole economic structure of Latin-American countries."

middle, and from this perforation presses the clay into the conical base⁶⁵ of the water jar she is to make ∇ . From a bowl of water beside her she takes one of several little strips of soaking cowhide to smooth with. Now she makes a long roll or cylinder of mud and adds it around the top (anti-sunwise—all the motions of coiling and smoothing are antisunwise). This is pressed into shape with the right hand as the jar form is turned against the left palm held on the outside. Then the smoother is applied until the wall is thin enough, as the jar is revolved, the left hand held inside for the smoother to be pressed against. Now large leaves (*hoja de lechero*) are laid along the rim, the form is put away with others to dry overnight, and the potter turns to add a second coil to those that had dried the night before. She picks off the leaves and proceeds as before. For water jars there are eight coils, and the coiling and drying-out require eight nights and a day in the sun (Pl. VIII) before the jars are ready for firing.⁶⁶ (For pottery shapes see Pls. IX-X.)

The fire is made of dung and straw, the pots being protected by potsherds—badly burned or broken pots. Straw is piled on top, up to three feet for large jars, and the mass is left to smolder for several hours. The dun-colored clay comes out red-brown and often black spotted from unskilful firing.

Pottery-making is a hereditary craft in certain families. The fourteen-year-old girl in one house we visited was pounding clay as we arrived; then she ground it. Her mother was coiling, but the young girl, too, knew how to coil, for she knew all the processes, having been taught by her mother just as her mother had been taught by hers.

The upper end of Imbabura Valley is an outstanding center for weaving. Ilumán, the *parcialidad* north of Quinchuquí and Peguche, has the most looms, but there are many looms also in the latter settlements, both Indian and Spanish looms, the Indian loom (Pls. XI-XIII) for ponchos and belts (no belt-weaving at Peguche) and the Spanish loom (Pls. XIV-XV) for cassimere (Sp. *casimir*) or tweed. About forty years ago the Spanish loom began to be taken over by the Indians. José Cajas of Quinchuquí is said to have been the first to use it, at the suggestion of a gentleman⁶⁷ of Quito.

⁶⁵ The conical base is paralleled in the aryballus vessels of Peru and in some jars of early Ecuador (Means, Figs. 101-3). Among Jibaro, medicine *men* make conical jars in which to bring the shrunken heads up to boiling. The large jar is propped on stones (Stirling, p. 70, citing observation made in 1899). In Cusin Hacienda I observed a large green glazed Spanish jar set to catch water percolated through a porous slab. The base was conical and passed through a circular hole in a wooden slab.

⁶⁶ Cf. Jibaro pottery-making (Karsten 4:100), which is quite similar.

⁶⁷ F. A. Uribe. Señor Uribe is the son-in-law of the *hacendada* of Cusin. He told me that at his marriage in 1917 his prospective mother-in-law had presented him with a poncho beautifully woven by José Cajas, and it occurred to him to set up José Cajas with a Spanish loom, supply samples of *casimir* to be copied, and afford the weaver a Quito market.

José died in 1936, but he had taught his son José, who lives in the family homestead on the highway. When I visited Don José, as he is surprisingly entitled by his White neighbors, he told me that his son Antonio, whom he in turn had taught to weave *casimir*, was away at Cristobal in Colombia to be gone one year to give instruction in weaving. This family is related to the Ruises of Peguche; the sister of José Cajas, Josefa (see Chart III, No. 4),

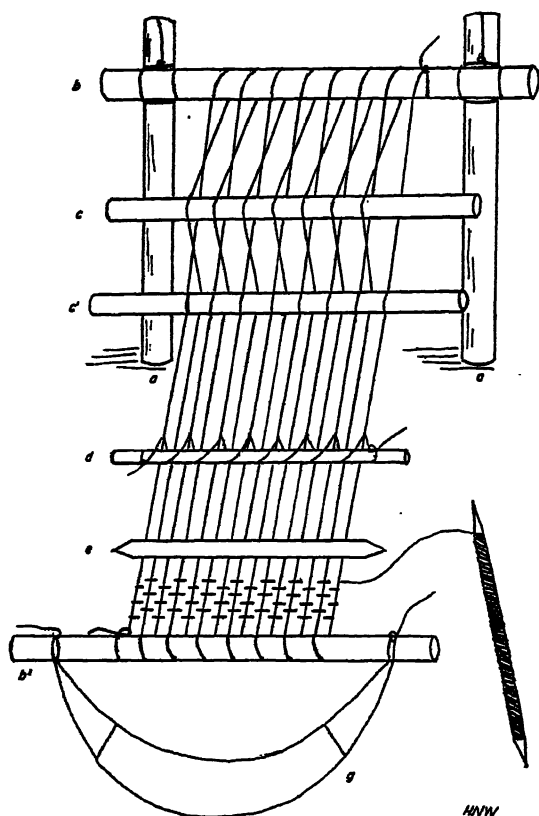


FIG. 2.—Parts of a loom: *a, a*, posts; *b*, warp bar; *b'*, cloth bar; *c, c'*, upper and lower shed sticks; *d*, heddle with harness; *e*, batten; *f*, shuttle; *g*, back strap.

married José Ruis, and three of her sons are weavers, using the Spanish spinning-wheel but not the Spanish loom. Her grandson Alexandro uses both Indian and Spanish looms. Antonio Cajas married into Peguche over fifteen years ago,⁶⁸ and it seems probable that it was he who introduced there the Spanish loom (see Fig. 2).

The Indian spindle is about fourteen inches long, slender, made of cane, with a small wooden whorl. It is turned in a horizontal or slanting position

⁶⁸ See p. 25, n. 67.

PLATE VIII



WATER JARS DRYING IN THE SUN

PLATE IX



POTTERY SHAPES

PLATE X



POTTERY SHAPES

PLATE XI

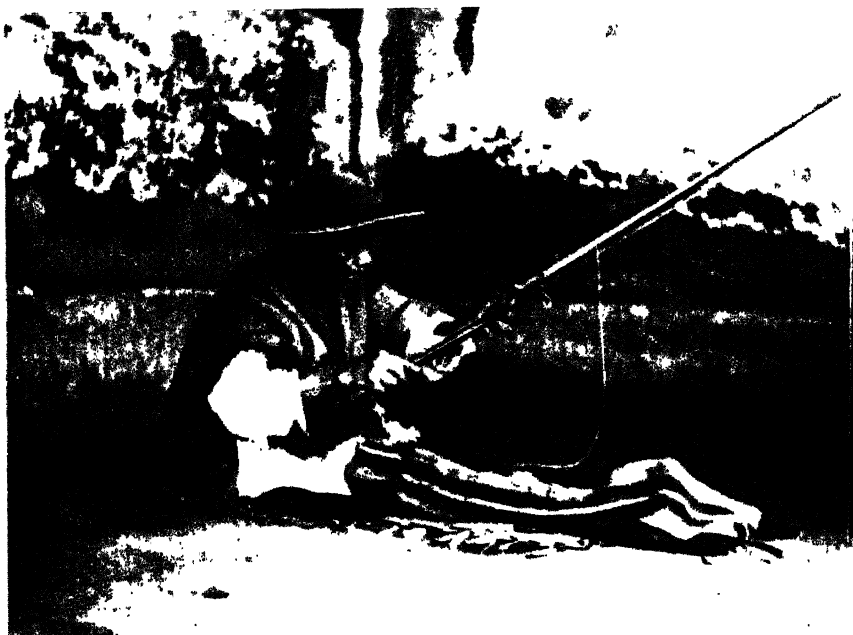


INDIAN LOOM FOR PONCHOS AND BELTS

The weaver has finished about half the poncho, the completed cloth being rolled around the cloth bar and its twin stick, which is added to prevent slipping and unwinding. The great thickness of the warp bar obviates the necessity of a shed stick to separate the warps at that end.

The man weaving on the narrow belt loom is about to insert the batten, preparatory to placing the round shed stick which he holds in his left hand. The warp chain of the belt loom, with most primitive weavers, is differently wound from the cloth loom, the latter being wound in a figure 8 between the bars, the former in an O around them. The weaving of the belt is done only upon the upper set of warps, and, as work progresses, the finished belt is pulled downward over the cloth bar and moves upward upon the lower level.

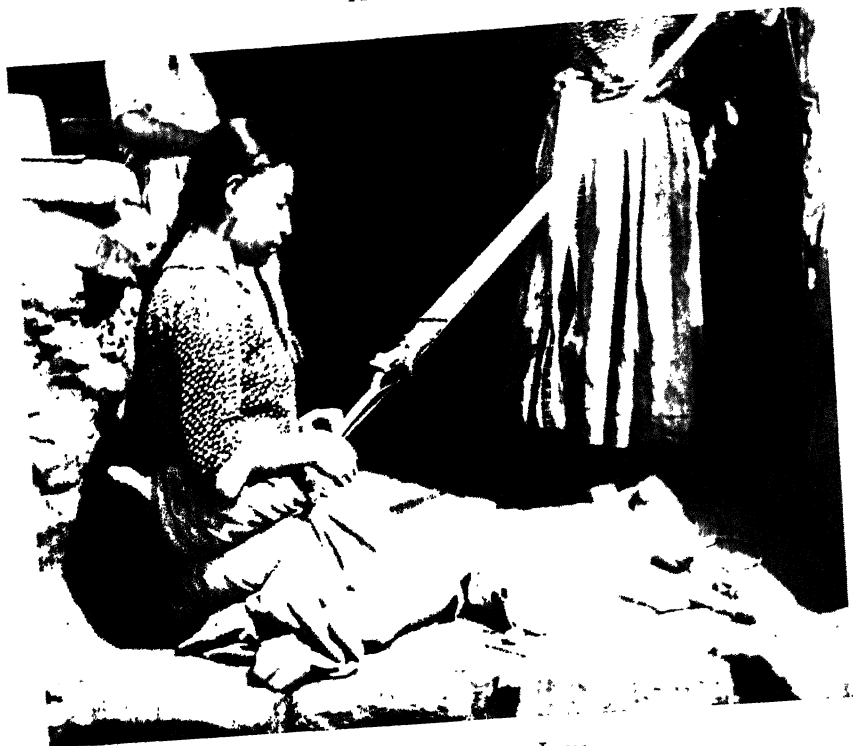
PLATE XII



INDIAN LOOM FOR PONCHOS AND BELTS

The poncho-weaver sits on the ground, on a low bundle of cloth, with his legs outstretched. He straightens out the warp with a short pointed stick (pick) and uses a stick measure on the warp to keep it of uniform width.

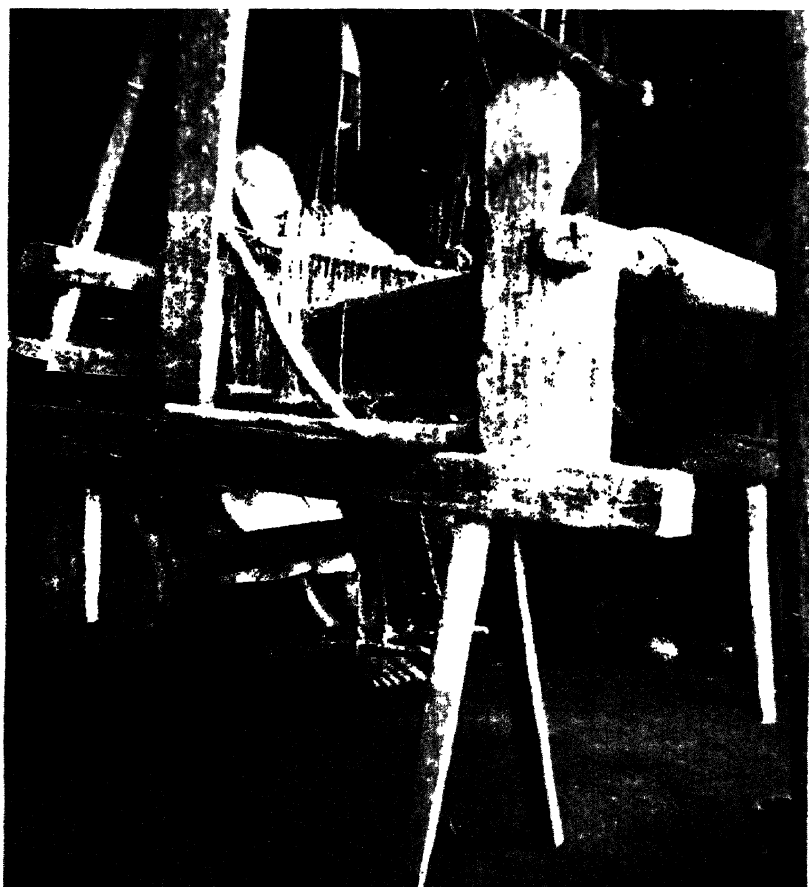
PLATE XIII



WOMAN USING AN INDIAN LOOM

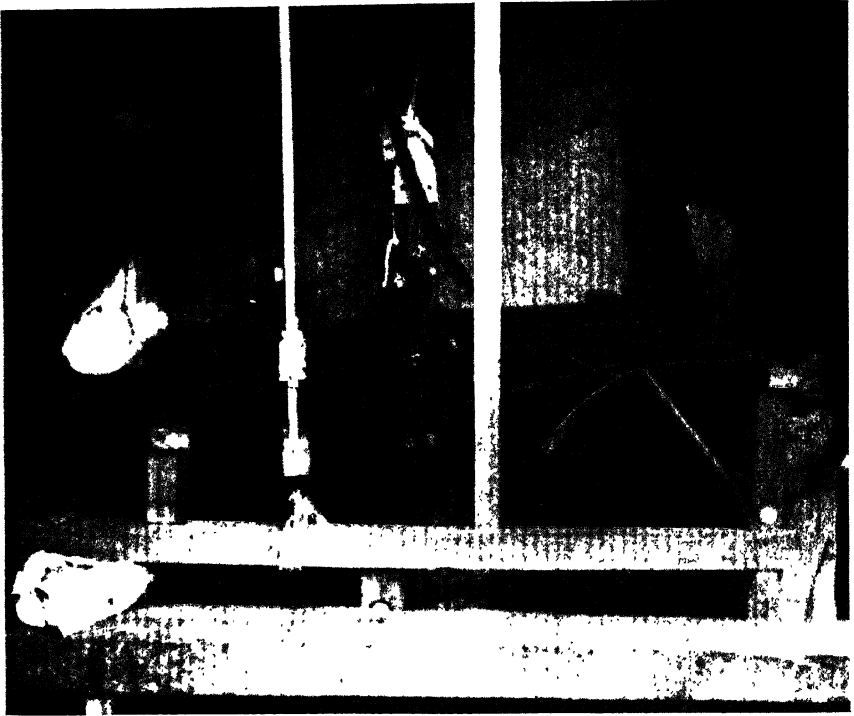
From the finished part of belt upward, the loom shows: slender heald rod, thick shed rod for the shuttle track, short heald rod controlling the central pattern warp, thin shed rod separating the upper and lower warp series, and a warp-control rod upon which each warp turns once to prevent tangling.

PLATE XIV



SPANISH LOOM FOR WEAVING CASSIMERE OR TWEED

PLATE XV



MAN WEAVING ON A SPANISH LOOM

with the right hand, the wool (*milma*) or yarn fed from a distaff⁶⁹ or ball of roughly spun wool in the left hand.⁷⁰ Women take their spindles along with them, just as our ladies take their knitting, and they often spin or twist while walking on the road⁷¹ or sitting on a street curb or in the market.

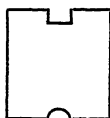
At home women may help in winding, but all the actual weaving is done by men,⁷² for poncho, belt, and cassimere. At San Rafael, it is reported, women weave their skirts.

With the Spanish loom came the Spanish spinning-wheel (Sp.-Q. *torno*)⁷³ and spindle (Q. *puchavende*), each set on a post fixed in the ground, the post for the wheel being about 3½ feet; for the spindle, about 2½ feet. The lathe is about three inches wide. The spindle of black, hard *chonta* wood (Q. *uso*)⁷⁴ is about twenty inches long, polished and brought to a fine point to which the wool or yarn is fed just as it comes from the carders or winding-frame. The wheel is turned by another person by hand, sunwise. Men rather than women work this mechanism, whereas women use only the Indian spindle.

The woman's fiber-wool belt is woven on the Indian loom by men: the woof is agave (*cabuya*) fiber;⁷⁵ the warp, of wool dyed red.

The oven (Sp. *hornillo*) used in felt hatmaking is a cube of clay-chinked plastered stones, about three feet deep, high, and wide, with an opening on the top for the grill and an opening at the base for the ash. The grill is

of bronze.



Under their enveloping poncho (Q. *ruana*)⁷⁶ Peguche and other valley

⁶⁹ Cf. tree crotch used as fixed distaff at Angochagua (Gillen, Pl. 20).

⁷⁰ Cf. Garcilasso, I, 319. Spindle of cane, a knob at the end. The distaff is carried in the left hand "and not at the girdle, holding it with the two smaller fingers, and taking hold with both hands to thin off the thread, and get rid of anything sticking to it."

⁷¹ "The Indian women were so fond of work, and such enemies to wasting even the shortest space of time, that even in going from the villages to the city, or in passing from one house to another on necessary business they took with them the means both of spinning and twisting. On the road they went along twisting what they had already spun, as being more easy; and on their visits they took with them the distaff, and spun while they conversed" (*ibid.*).

⁷² *Ibid.*, II, 18. In Inca some of the coarser weaving was done by women also, but all the fine cloth was woven by men "because they worked standing," as in Mexico, but not in Ecuador.

⁷³ By 1580 the spinning-wheel was introduced into the region of Santa María de las Nieves (near the Marañón) by the *encomenderos*, in order to pay their Indian gold-washers in cotton cloth (Stirling, pp. 35-36).

⁷⁴ Jibaro use a spindle of *chonta* wood. Their wheel is a stone disk or of *chonta* wood (Karsten 4:97).

⁷⁵ Cf. agave-weaving in Peru (Garcilasso, I, 57-58; II, 367); also the Zapotec woman's fiber belt (Parsons 2:38).

⁷⁶ Mountain people (*gente de cerro*) call a poncho *kapisayú* or, near Cotacachi in the mountains, *yirgitúng*.

Indians wear a white cotton shirt⁷⁷ and cotton pants—pantaloons reaching between calf and ankle. The homemade pantaloons have an opening on the right or left side, but no front flap. The shirt is gathered over the pantaloons by a broad, pink woolen belt, falling about eight inches below. For the most part men wear a soft felt hat with narrow brim—what we call a “fedora”—and agave fiber sandals with cotton heel and toe straps with a colored string tied around the ankle or, on festive occasions, instep-covered sandals.

Women generally go barefoot. Over a headcloth, a *rebozo*, of white cotton or of blue or magenta wool, Peguche women wear a huge-brimmed, brown, sometimes white, felt hat,⁷⁸ heavy and as stiff as a board, almost as uncomfortable and as useless a conformity with fashion as, say, high heels in other circles.

Headgear varies somewhat with locality, women’s more than men’s, brim and crown of felt hat being of different sizes, and women wear the *rebozo* in different ways, the two front corners tied behind at the nape of the neck and hanging to the waist (Peguche), or falling in straight folds (San Antonio, near Ibarra), or tucked around the head into a kind of visored cap (San Rafael), without a hat.⁷⁹ The *rebozo* is of wool, red or blue wool carded on one side, or, if visored, of cotton.

Women wear their hair in two side braids that are braided into a single back braid doubled up and bound with a belt or ribbon. A little lock kept cut to about two inches lies down the temple. Men’s braids, three or five, are carried over the top of the head into the back braid, which is left hanging.⁸⁰ Viewed from the back, the braids form a cross. “Why do men wear their hair long?” I once asked Rosita. “Because we are Indians.”⁸¹ Another time I asked why our short-haired Indian visitor wore his hair short. “Because it is customary in his country [Riobamba].” Short hair is also customary in the Cayambe Valley and in several *parcialidades* of Imbabura—at San Rafael, near Cotacachi, etc., but “up to Arcos they do not cut the hair.”

⁷⁷ Formerly, at Cayambe the shirt was made like a poncho: two *varas* of cotton (*lienzo*) were folded in the middle with an opening cut for the head, and at the sides openings left unsewn for the arms. The rest was sewn. This garment was called *guashmi*.

⁷⁸ Sp. *sombrero*; Q. *sombro*. The woman’s hat is referred to as *sombro yura* or *sombro kijo* (dark brown but translated as *amarillo*, “yellow”). Some men wear this hard, broad-brimmed felt which was in vogue before the soft felt.

⁷⁹ This mode, called *tarzan*, approximates the head covering described by Cobo.

⁸⁰ See p. 157.

⁸¹ “And for various reasons prize our hair,” Rosita might have added (see the Appendix, p. 205, and cf. Jibaro practice). The men wear their hair in three braids. The hair is full of magic power, particularly when arranged in braids. A man would never omit, before leaving his house, braiding his hair; without braids he is not a real man, and loose hair subjects him to witchcraft (Karsten 4:88, 107, 426).

The Spaniards in Ecuador soon learned that cutting an Indian’s hair was a punishment “next to death” (Appendix, p. 208), perhaps because it actually subjected him to death.

Over a coarse cotton chemise (Sp.-Q. *camisa bordada*), heavily embroidered across chest and around armlets with cotton thread of various colors or with yarns, women wear two skirts (*anako* = *enagua*), reaching to the ankles, the underskirt of white wool and the outer skirt of black, often with dots or with straight or angular lines around the bottom. These are wrapped around the body and doubly belted, with a once-around broad and stiff fiber-woolen belt, red with green edging, and over that with several turns of a narrow woolen belt gay in color and design (Pl. XVI). The wide belt is called *mama chumbi*, "mother belt"; the narrow one, *guagua chumbi*, "baby belt." The folds of the black skirt leave it open on the left side, showing the white underskirt. A rather pretty costume, left to itself, without the additional pieces that make women look like walking bundles of cloth. Besides the *rebozo* (Sp.-Q.), a back cloth, black or white (Q. *pachalina yana*, *pachalina yura*), and a carrying cloth of wool or cotton, both knotted across the chest, are worn.⁸²

Men wear no jewelry, but to women it is indispensable in several ways: rings, earrings (Sp.-Q. *orejillas*), necklaces (Q. *walka*), and bracelets (Q. *makiwatana*) (Pls. XVII-XVIII). The bracelets on both wrists are always tightly wound strings of red glass beads. They are purses, for under the beads women slip their small change. (I was always reminded of the Britisher's handkerchief up his cuff.) But these bracelets have other functions,⁸³ for they are put on girls in infancy. The necklaces are of two kinds: (1) "rosaries" of brass and red beads, coral and glass, with a large silver cross and ancient silver coins and, quite often, as a pendant the silver disk pin called *tupu*;⁸⁴ and (2) strand upon strand of gilded glass beads forming a sort of collar as well as hanging necklace. Three or four of these strands, which are very lightweight, may be tied and hung around the ears, reaching gorgeous-

⁸² Cobo reports that Peruvian women wrapped the skirt (*anacu*) which reached to the feet around the body "from under the arms downwards, and pulling up the edges over the shoulders, they join and fasten them with their pins. From the girdle down they tie and circle the body with a scarf, broad, thick and handsome, called *chumpi*." The *anacu* "leaves the arms free and naked and it remains open on one side so that, although the edges overlap a little, when they walk they flutter and open from the *chumpi* or scarf down, showing part of the leg or thigh." A mantle is thrown over the shoulders and fastened over the breast with a pin or *tupu*. This mantle comes down "as far as half the limb"; they take it off "when they work or when they are at home" (Bandelier, p. 74).

⁸³ Jibaro believe that the tight cotton-string bracelets and armlets of the women render the arms stronger for carrying burdens (Karsten 4:93). Also, we may note, that among Jibaro a red stone gives a woman long life and success in domestic tasks and promotes the growth of her crops (Karsten 4:436).

⁸⁴ Some of these mantle pins look antique, others set in front with colored glass and without a trace of the pin which should be welded on the back have been bought from White peddlers. The *tupu* is Peruvian. "In these pins," writes Cobo, "they place their greatest pride" (Bandelier, p. 75). *Tupu* were introduced into Otavalo by the Incas, it is noted in the *Relaciones geográficas*, written in 1586 (cited by Nordenskiöld, p. 12, who remarks that "topus are still spread by barter among the Indians to places far away from where they are made," both in Bolivia and in Peru [*ibid.*, p. 60]).

ly to the waist. Twelve strands cost six reals. Other earrings are little affairs of colored glass and wire. Finger rings (Q. *sortija*) may be silver seal rings with initials but commonly are rings of brass with curious prongs, as if a heavy setting had been emptied of its jewel. All the fingers may be loaded with these rings, which are given at marriage. A ring worn on the middle finger, a ring of steel, is said to be an amulet against witchcraft. The rosary necklaces are the two *rosarios* that figure in marriage ceremonial,⁸⁵ and, inferably, they, too, have a protective function.⁸⁶ They are not used in any way in prayer.

Some of their jewelry, if not all, women wear for display. The only equivalent display open to a man is through his poncho, his "overcoat of four points," for there is some pride in a new well-made poncho. With these exceptions apparel is not thought of ordinarily as indicative either of status or of personal taste. As a Cayambe man writes, "People do not like to dress themselves luxuriously even if they have the wherewithal." Indian enough!⁸⁷

The Otavalo Saturday market (or, rather, markets) consists of a magnified version of the general daily market, the textile and pottery market in a great clearing on the north side of town, the cattle market on the east side, a little meat market beyond, near the railroad tracks, and the pig market on the west side. In all the markets both Whites and Indians are sellers and buyers, although there is some specialization. The Indians buy but do not sell cattle; in the textile-pottery market the vendors are all Indian excepting the vendor of green glaze pottery, which is man-made and turned by wheel in town; in the general market the merchants of tailored garments and of metal-ware—tools, locks, etc.—are White. So are the merchants of gourd cups from Colombia, of fruit, mostly rotten, from Ibarra,⁸⁸ of jewelry, needles, leather purses, tiny mirrors, and toys. These dry-goods merchants sit under or in front of the *portales*, which they rent from the town. The vendors of salt, *achiote*, vanilla, and *remedios* sit together under cotton shades and are all White. The *remedios* are "sea beans" (*habas de mar*), tiny sections of the *liana aya huasca*, the sole vine narcotic of eastern Ecuador, and the large beak with downy yellow feathers of the predictor (toucan), the diviner. These are all advertised as remedies for *mal de corazón*, heart trouble, and seizures.

At the corner of the textile-pottery market one Saturday sat an old White man selling panpipes. From him I bought one of these instruments. Ahead

⁸⁵ See p. 56.

⁸⁶ Jibaro women wear seed or pod necklaces or objects on the breast against disease (Karsten 4:91-92) or as love charms (Stirling, p. 103).

⁸⁷ See p. 171.

⁸⁸ Apples, peaches, alligator pears, bananas, oranges, and black grapes. The northern end of the valley is about a thousand feet lower, with a better climate for fruit-growing.

PLATE XVI



WOMAN WEARING TYPICAL COSTUME

Note the wide and narrow belts wrapped around her body

PLATE XVII



NECKLACES AND EARRINGS WORN BY WOMEN

PLATE XVIII



THE BRACELETS OF RED BEADS AND INNUMERABLE RINGS WORN BY WOMEN

PLATE XIX



FROM THE DAY OF BIRTH MATHILDE WAS WELL SWADDLED IN A WOMAN'S BELT

of me was an Indian who began to play on his purchase as he walked away with it.

In the general market Indian and White women sit on the ground alongside one another in the specialized groups selling embroidered chemise tops or sandals or vegetables. In all the markets, wares, not race, is the principle of classification; in usual Spanish-American market style all vendors of the same line of wares group together. Also, any division of labor by sex holds in merchandising, at least by Indians. Women sell their wool or embroidery or pots; men sell their belts or ponchos or cassimeres. (Even in house-to-house merchandising this arrangement holds. A woman may discuss the price of cloth, but the actual purchase is made by the man. I have seen Rosita, after virtually making the deal, take the purchase price from her chemise and hand it to her husband to hand to the trader.)

The textile-pottery market is especially interesting alike for the occasional tourist-purchaser from Quito and for the anthropological observer. Along the southern wall stand the Indian weavers, a line of two hundred men, their cloth piled neatly in front on cotton sheets, a gay and picturesque show. The men chat and laugh together; they are plainly having a good time. They are competitors, but there is no expression of anxiety and little bidding for purchasers. There is a notable lack of bargaining. Indeed, throughout the markets there is no such prolonged haggling as in Mexican markets.

At a little distance beyond the weavers sits a row of aniline-dye merchants behind their tin-can containers. Sometimes a woman helps her man wrap the purchase in a small square of newspaper. Next come the women spinners in the midst of their wool piles, spinning or suckling a child or just chatting with a neighbor. Beyond them stand the scales, the usual simple contrivance of hook and weights from a crossbar on two upright stakes. At the north end of the market against the wall there sit the women potters behind their wares: huge *chicha* jars, water jars, cooking pots, pitcher jars. I saw no clay grills or small containers of any kind.

Entirely separate from this group, on the east side, a man sells the little pottery pieces from the "*fabrica*." On the west side there is a short row of portable burners for cooking beans, potatoes, or corn boiled in the husk. Most of the cooks are White; a few, Indian.

Not to be overlooked is the white-robed friar of Los Mercedarios who has come from Cotacachi to hold out his collection plate⁸⁹ where the main street comes into the general market. It can hardly be worth his while, for late in the morning, one Saturday at least, there were in the plate only a few reals

⁸⁹ Something of a reminder of the medieval market held upon a Sunday in the churchyard under the church peace or market peace, symbolized by the market cross; cf. Mitla (Parsons 2:8-10). The combination of fair and sanctuary pilgrimage familiar in Mexico is not found in Ecuador.

plus the sucre the Americana put in and for which she received a smile and the thanks which is a blessing—*Dios se lo pague!* "May God pay you for it!"

From this trading, weaving, and farming community wild animal life seems remote. Rosita had heard of *puma*, *tigre*, and *oso*, of the turkey buzzard that eats dead horses (Sp. *gallinazo*; Q. *ujawanga*),⁹⁰ and of large serpents (Sp. *serpiente*; Q. *kulibra*), but she had never seen any of these creatures. The weasel (Q. *chukuri*)⁹¹ and the fox (*atu*) that prey on chickens are familiar.⁹² In the conduit there are little snakes and lizards (Sp. *lagartija*; Q. *palo*). When a little brown lizard darted past Segundo and me one day, the boy remarked, "It sucks the blood!" A tiny, most pestiferous black fly (*hamsi chuspi*, "tiny fly") does indeed draw blood. People cover up against it; for example, weavers will keep their legs and feet covered or burn a smudge⁹³ of weeds (?). The darning-needle is said to steal hair to make its wings and is therefore called *achashua*, "hair thief." Hummingbird (*kinde*), nighthawk (Q. *shushi*), and owl (Q. *kuskongo*) were familiar to Rosita, who could hoot like an owl. And Rosita had seen, of course, the water birds of the Lake of San Pablo—the wild ducks called *wakava* and *garza* (Sp. and Q.), the beautiful white heron that roost in the eucalyptus trees of the hacienda of Cusin. One day as we were sitting on one of the ancient burial mounds near Carabuela, Rosita and the children spied a hawk alighting in the meadow just after Rosita had pointed out the great waterfall of Imbabura where men go to ask Hawk for strength in fighting.⁹⁴

As a young man, say thirty years ago, Manuel Lema went hunting with a blowpipe (Q. *bodokera*)⁹⁵ to shoot small game. He used clay pellets. Bow and arrow are quite unfamiliar.⁹⁶ Today, now and again, on the road you see a gun in the hands of White or Indian, probably to hunt rabbits; but little if any hunting is done by Peguche people. Hunters are disesteemed; they are considered lazy,⁹⁷ in Peguche eyes ever a despicable trait.

⁹⁰ Peruvian *suyuntu* (Garcilasso, II, 390).

⁹¹ Obsolete. A kind of weasel (S. *comadreja*) (Middendorf).

⁹² See p. 139.

⁹³ Jibaro burn ant-nest against flies (Karsten 4:34).

⁹⁴ See p. 94.

⁹⁵ Used by Jibaro, with dart (Karsten 1:12).

⁹⁶ Also unknown among Forest peoples of eastern Ecuador (Karsten 4:108); but bow and arrow were used in the sixteenth century, when the blowgun is not reported (Stirling, pp. 79 ff.). Stirling and others opine that the blowgun was introduced into America from Asia via the galleon traffic. The earliest account of a true blowgun is 1620. The pellet gun of Mexico and Central America is mentioned in the sixteenth century.

Arrows *con estolica* were in use near Quito, also lances and sabers of *palma* (?chonta). The most dangerous weapon was the sling, with which they were very skilful, rarely missing their mark. In fighting, there was no formation (Quito, 1573, p. 96).

⁹⁷ In Inca Peru there was a great annual hunt drive, but private hunting was restricted lest men "should become idle and neglect their necessary household duties" (Garcilasso, II, 115).

CHAPTER IV

FAMILY AND PERSONAL LIFE

The single family prevails, although after marriage the couple usually lives with the parents of bride or of groom for a few years until they have accumulated enough to start a separate establishment. During this period, or even before marriage,¹ earnings belong theoretically to the earner, although as members of a parental household young people will contribute to its economic activity, and both son and daughter are said in Spanish phrase to be "in the power of their father." Actually, a young married couple are under the control of their household head, who is usually the bride's father, although "some girls prefer to go to live in the house of their father-in-law."² Not infrequently the groom's father will give him a piece of land, and, as soon as it is convenient to hold a work party,³ the house is built, co-operatively by members of the extended families (*ayllu*) of both husband and wife.

Houses are built after the August harvest, and the work goes on for about two months. On the day of completion there is a celebration, with the *banda*, and with the eating and drinking necessary to celebration of any kind. There is no ritual of consecration at this *casamiento budo wasi*, "marriage house feast." This year a new house was to be built for Rosa Ruis, who married Joaquin Muenala of Quinchuquí seven years ago. They have two children. They have been living with Rosa's father, Esteban Ruis. He has given them a piece of land for their house, and in April he had already cut down a eucalyptus tree in his yard for house timbers. José Ruis, a distant cousin of Rosa,⁴ will join the work party.⁵ Practically only relatives living in Peguche volunteer, so that this is a form of local as well as of kinship co-operation.

¹ E.g., Manuel Ruis and his unmarried son Rafael, aged twenty-one (see Chart III, Nos. 14 and 53), both poncho-weavers, share their earnings, the father retaining the earnings of one week; the son, those of the week following.

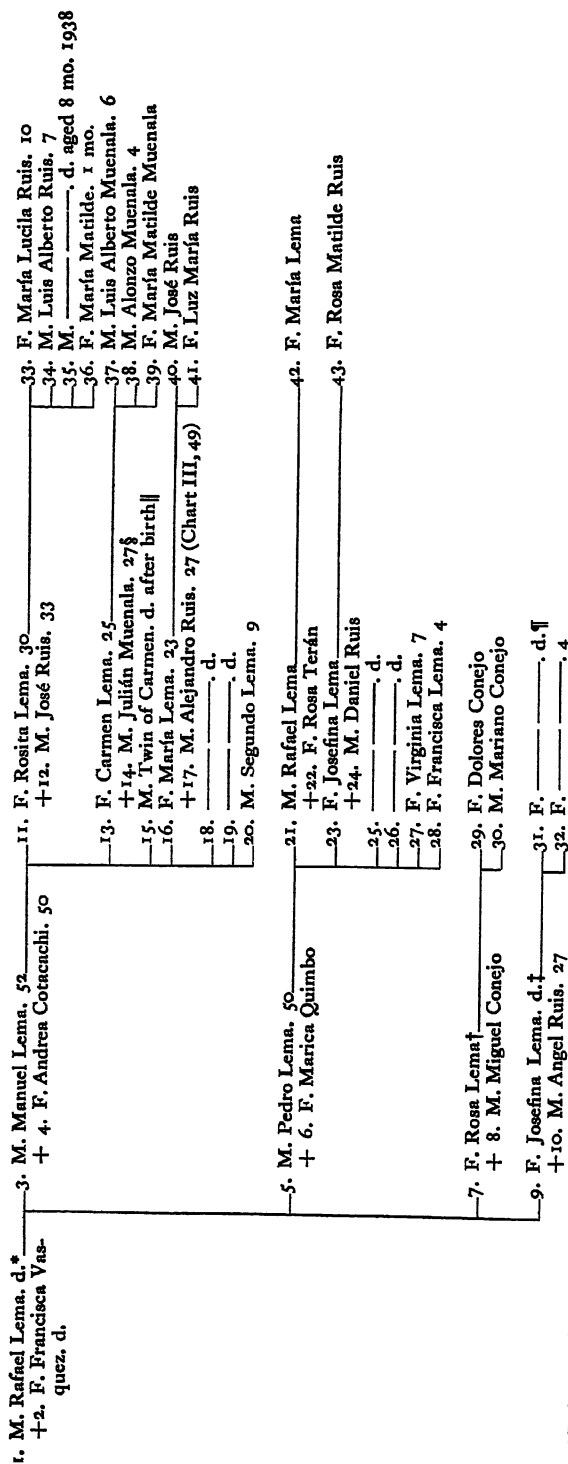
² Rosa Ruis (Chart III, No. 53), e.g., who lives with her two children and husband in his parents' house rather than in the house of her father and demented mother.

³ In Inca law, referred to as "the brotherly law," villagers were to help one another "in getting in the harvest, building houses, and similar work, without any pay" (Garcilasso, II, 33). Cf. Maya of Yucatan (Landa, p. 38) or Cuna Indians of Panama (Stout) or Caddo of our Southeast (Parsons 4:8) or Pueblos of our Southwest. Indeed, the work party is a far-flung Indian trait.

⁴ Same great-grandfather.

⁵ Sp.-Q. *minga de familia*; Sp. *convido*. "*Minga* is Spanish."

GENEALOGY OF LRMA FAMILY



† Five abortions.

† Of mal de corazon.

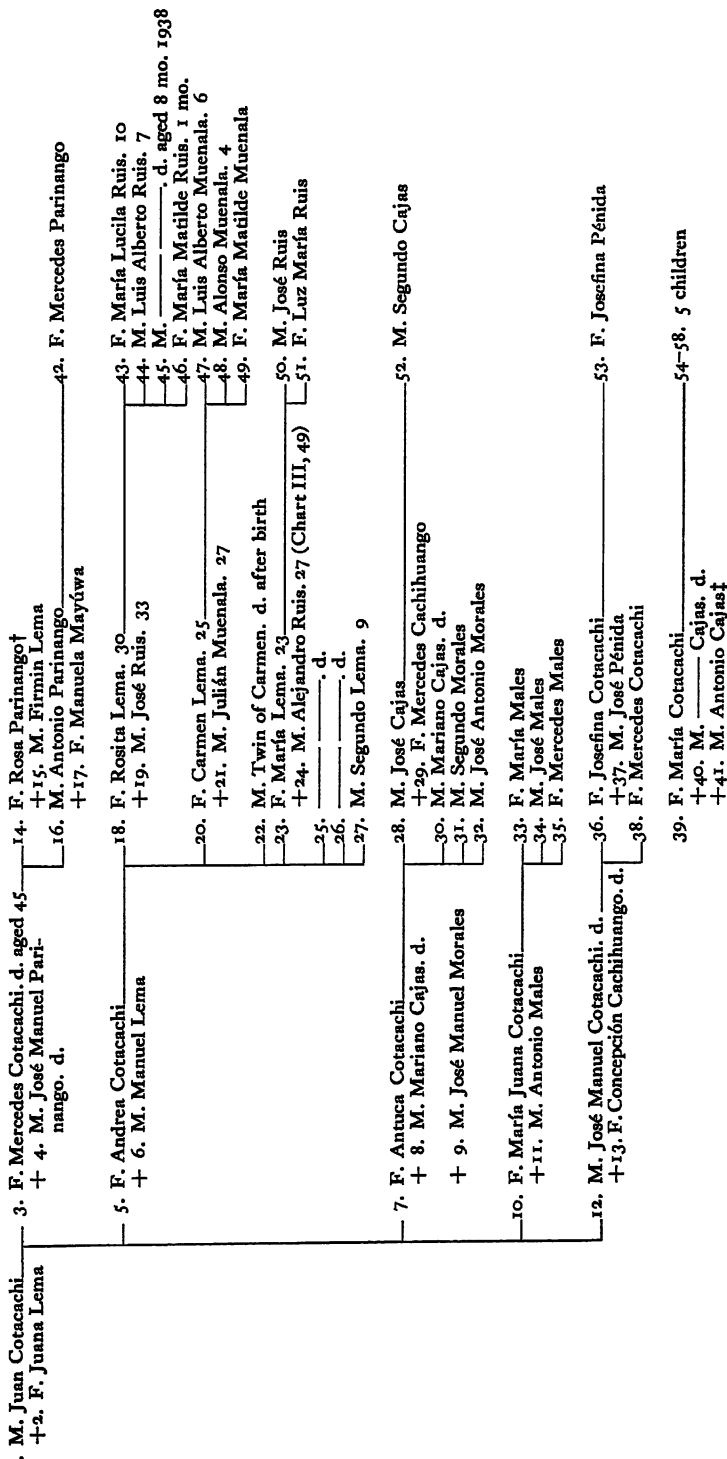
From La Bolsa, a li

!! This information given Juan Corneall Doalta had told me that he had been

¶ Of smallpox.

CHART II

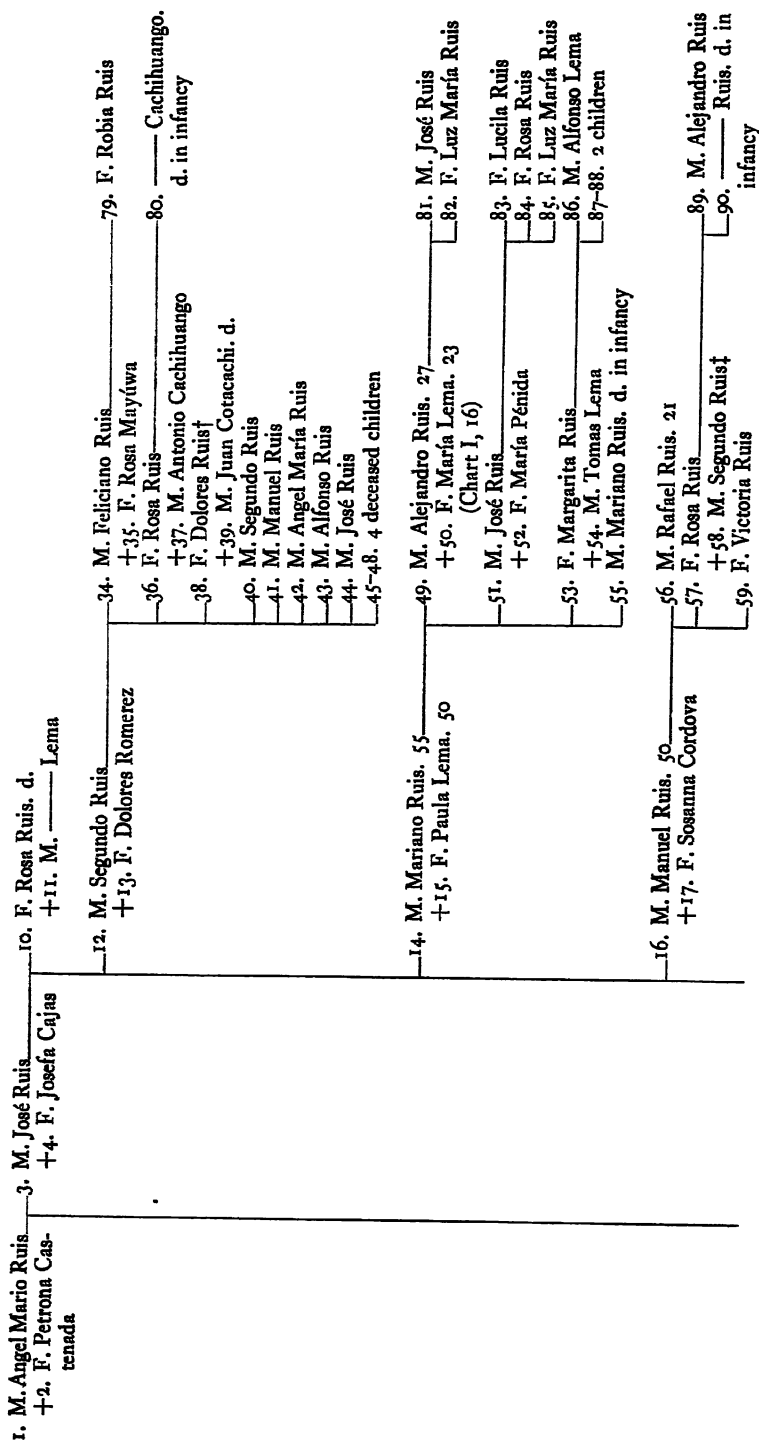
GENEALOGY OF COTACACHI FAMILY*



* The Cotacachi family is from Quinchuqui. The Cajas family from Iluman. Only two women married into Peguche from Quinchuqui: Andrea Cotacachi and Rosa Parinango.
† Married twenty years; barren.
‡ Nephew of No. 4, Chart III, and first cousin of José Ruis.

CHART III

GENEALOGY OF THE RUIS FAMILY



18. F. Tomasa Ruis*	60. M. Calixto Cordova
+19. M. Miguel Cordova	61. F. Lucila Cordova
	62. M. Alejandro Cordova
	63. ——— Cordova, d. in infancy
20. M. José Ruis. 33	64. F. María Lucila Ruis. 10
+21. F. Rosita Lema. 30	65. M. Luis Alberto Ruis. 7
	66. M. ———, d. 8 mo. 1938
	67. F. María Matilde Ruis. 3 mo.
22. F. Carmela Ruis	68. M. Carlos Piyaho
+23. M. José María Piyaho	69. M. José Piyaho
	70. F. Laura María Piyaho
	71. ——— Piyaho, d. in infancy
24. M. Angel Ruis. 28	72. F. María Matilde Ruis. d.
+25. F. Josefina Lema, d. 1936	73. F. Laura María Ruis. 4
5. F. Carmen Ruis	26. F. María Quimbo
+6. M. (Buena) Ventura Quimbo	+27. M. Bautisto Parinango
	28. F. Simona Quimbo
	+29. M. Gravil Cachumuel
	30. M. José Quimbo
	+31. F. Santos Romero
7. F. Mercedes Ruis. d. 80. <i>soltera</i>	75. F. Mercedes Quimbo. 91-93. 3 children +76. M. Carlos Cachumuel
8. M. ——— Ruis	77. F. Rosa Ruis
+9. F. ———	+78. M. Joaquín Muenala
	+33. F. ———

* Family lives in San Rafael. Went there to work.

† "Lives far away—ajena," alien.

‡ No relationship.

However acquired, house and land are considered as owned jointly by husband and wife. Divorce is unknown, and thus practically no question of ownership arises. At death the widow or widower continues to own the property. Offspring, male and female, inherit in equal parts, although use of the parental house and land depends upon family circumstances. For example, Josefina Cajas (Chart III, No. 4), the widowed mother of five sons, has living with her the youngest son, Angel Ruis, a widower with one little girl. At the death of his mother, Angel will probably continue to live in this house, since his brothers have each a separate home; nevertheless, *the brothers retain property rights in the parental homestead*, and at Angel's death it will revert to them or their heirs, excepting, of course, Angel's share, which in some form, not necessarily land, will go to his daughter, his only child. The division of land after a death may be made amicably within the family, but in case of dispute appeal will be made to the land office in Otavalo.⁶

In this system of division landholdings tend to be small,⁷ and related families live close together.⁸ In my list of households there are a great many such cases.

Relations between families connected by blood are close. There is constant visiting; field tools or household things are borrowed; the children play together. Adults do not play together, for there are no games for adults, but in work parties and religious celebrations they help one another in all sorts of ways; and on all more or less formal occasions they eat and drink together. There are no taboos on contacts within the extended family at all, except that of marriage. Marriage within the third degree, descendants of a common great-grandparent,⁹ either paternal or maternal, is forbidden, by Church and even more by custom. However, today the rule is being broken; sometimes there are marriages within *el segundo grado*, but no first-cousin marriage has yet occurred.¹⁰

⁶ In early Peru lawsuits were not within the village but between villages because of the Inca policy of coercive delimitation of village boundaries (Ondegardo, p. 163).

⁷ In Ecuador law landholdings assessed over 1,000 sucres are taxable. No Peguche landowner is taxed.

⁸ As in Inca Peru. Probably the average size of Peguche holdings is about the same as that of the schematic holding of Inca Peru: one acre and one-tenth (Garcilasso, II, 4 n.). According to Garcilasso, there was constant division of the land; according to Ondegardo (pp. 162-63), there was no division of land within the family, but the person who represented the *ayllu* (lineage) had charge, and all the rest enjoyed the fruits in common. Those who did not sow had no share in the harvest.

⁹ In Chart I, No. 34 may not marry No. 43, his mother's father's brother's daughter's daughter. The children of No. 34 and No. 43 might marry.

¹⁰ Recently on a hacienda near Quito an Indian girl was pregnant by her first cousin, and the *hacendado* suggested marriage; but her family was utterly opposed. In White Ecuadorian circles cousin marriage is not unfamiliar. A recent presidential candidate *who was backed by the Church as a conservative is married to his first cousin!*

The consanguineous bilateral group *within which marriage is forbidden* is called *ayllu*.²¹ The kinship terms fail to indicate that the *ayllu* was ever a unilateral group, a true lineage.²² But so many Spanish terms are used and

KINSHIP TERMS

<i>taiti'ko</i> }	father	<i>tiu (tio)</i> ²⁷	uncle ²⁸
<i>yaiya</i> ²³ }		<i>tia</i> ²⁷	aunt
<i>mami'ta (mama)</i>	mother	<i>sobрино</i>	nephew
<i>chu'ri</i> ²⁴	son	<i>sobrina</i>	niece
<i>u'shi</i>	daughter	<i>warmi</i>	wife (woman)
<i>guagua</i> ²⁵	child	<i>kusa</i>	husband ²⁹
<i>awelo (abuelo)</i>	grandfather ²⁶	<i>tai'ta</i> ²⁰	senior male relative of spouse
<i>agwila (abuela)</i>	grandmother		
<i>nieto</i>	grandson	<i>mama</i> ²¹	senior female relative of spouse
<i>nieta</i>	granddaughter	<i>masha</i> }	son-in-law, brother-
<i>wau'ki</i>	brother (male speaking)	<i>mashapura</i> }	in-law reciprocal
<i>tu'ri</i>	brother (female speaking)	<i>ha'chu</i>	daughter-in-law
<i>pa'ni</i>	sister (m. sp.)	<i>pani'ko</i> ²²	daughter-in-law, mother's sister
<i>nya'nya</i>	sister (f. sp.)		

²¹ *Una familia junta, de dos lados; parientes*. *Pura* means "among" (Sp. *entre*), and *ayllu pura* or *familia pura* would be said of all the siblings of one's father or *nyanya pura* of all the siblings of one's mother. As exogamous restrictions are curtailed, the *ayllu* may be expected to shrink, just as elsewhere for the same reason the clan breaks down.

²² Garcilasso applies the term *ayllu* both to lineage based on patrilineal descent from a known or traditional male founder (I, 95, 97; II, 243, 345) and to what we would call moiety. All towns, large or small, of the Empire were separated like Cuzco into an "upper *ayllu*" and a "lower *ayllu*" according to the lineages of the families, i.e., into localized moieties determined by descent (I, 67). Patrilineal, patrilocal groups are indicated, but, as no account of marriage rules is given by Garcilasso except in the supreme Inca lineage, which favored but did not require endogamy within the blood family, the only warrant we find for considering the lineage

[Footnote 12 continued on following page]

²³ Obsolescent. See Inca usage (Garcilasso, II, 353).

²⁴ Given with the possessive prefix, *nyuka*, "my." Used by father (Garcilasso, I, 314; or particularly by father (Paris).

²⁵ Term for son or daughter used by mother (Garcilasso and Paris), who will qualify by adding male or female.

²⁶ In Peruvian Quechua *machu* (Salcamayhua, p. 99, n. 4).

²⁷ Applied loosely to affinal relatives, particularly if relationship is not quite friendly. Also courtesy term.

²⁸ In Peruvian Quechua the term for mother's brother was *kaka* (Garcilasso, I, 285).

²⁹ Man, *kari*.

²⁰ Courtesy term (see below)

²¹ Obsolescent for mother (see p. 41); courtesy term.

²² Apparently a derivative from *pani*, "sister," male speaking; but the term is used by females. It may be applied to mother's sister but, I am told, not to father's sister. When I said, "Kaiyakama, sobrino [Goodbye, nephew]," to little Segundo Lema, he always responded, "Kaiyakama, paniko."

so loosely that it seems next to impossible to find traces of family organization in the nomenclature. Yet a classificatory system of some kind is hinted in the sibling terms and in the way the borrowed Spanish terms are used.

APPLICATIONS OF KINSHIP TERMS

- taiti'ko*, father: Chart I, 11 > 3, father
mami'ta (*mama*), mother, (?) father's sister: Chart I, 11 > 4, mother; Chart III, 64 > 18, father's sister (Tomasá Mama); 64 > 22, father's sister (Carmela Mama)
churi, son: Chart I, 12 > 34, son (*nyuku churi*)
u'shi, daughter: Chart I, 3, 4 > 11, daughter (*nyuka u'shi*, "my daughter")
guagua, child: Chart I, 3, 4 > 11, daughter
abuelo, grandfather: Chart I, 11 > 1, father's father
abuela, grandmother: Chart I, 11 > 2, father's mother
nieto, grandson: Chart III, 15 > 81, son's son
nieta, granddaughter: Chart I, 1, 2 > 11, son's daughter
wau'ki, brother (male speaking): Chart II, 44 > 52, mother's mother's sister's son's son (*nyuka sobrino wau'ki*); Chart III, 20 > 16, brother; 39 > 61, father's brother's son (*sobrino wau'ki*)
turi (*tori*), brother (female speaking): Chart I, 11 > 20, brother; 33 > 37, mother's sister's son (*sobrino turi*); 42 > 34, mother's sister's son (*sobrino turi*); Chart II, 18 > 28, mother's sister's son (*nyuka sobrino tori*)
pani, sister (male speaking): Chart I, 20 > 11, sister; 34 > 41, mother's sister's daughter (*sobrino pani*); Chart II, 28 > 18, mother's sister's daughter (*nyuka sobrino pani*); 28 > 43, mother's sister's daughter's daughter (*sobrino pani*); Chart III, 43 > 64, father's brother's daughter (*sobrino pani*)
nya'nya, sister (female speaking): Chart I, 11 > 13, sister; 33 > 41, mother's sister's daughter (*sobrino nyanya*); Chart II, 43 > 42, mother's mother's sister's son's daughter (*sobrino nyanya*); 43 > 53, mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter (*sobrino nyanya*); Chart III, 36 > 64, father's brother's daughter (*sobrino nyanya*)
sobrino, niece: Chart I, 20 > 33, sister's daughter (*nyuka sobrino*); Chart II, 7 > 18, sister's daughter; 9 > 18, wife's sister's daughter; 7 > 43, sister's daughter's daughter

[Footnote 12 continued from preceding page]

to be a clan or part of a clan is in the appeal sent to Spain in 1603 by the heads of eleven distinctively named Inca lineages (*panaka*), each founded by one of the Inca emperors. This record of 567 persons, the first genealogy to be recorded for Indians, was never submitted and was placed on file because one of the Inca descendants in Spain to whom it was intrusted thought it would lessen the weight of his individual appeal for consideration (Garcilasso, II, 530 ff.)—very unclannish conduct!

In the list of lineages (*panaka*) given by Garcilasso some are also referred to as *ayllu* (cf. Molina, pp. 22-23). Possibly in Inca Peru *ayllu* was a generic term for any group, equivalent to our term "people" or to the Keresan Pueblo term *hano*, which is applied to tribe, clan, or ceremonial group.

Means refers to the *ayllu* as a tribe (see pp. 223, 284, 286, 287) or as a localized group or hamlet, just such a hamlet as Peguche, "a hamlet of roughly built houses having near it a *pucará* or fortified hilltop, and round it fields for farming and herding" (p. 285). Peguche folk, however, do not refer to Peguche as an *ayllu*; they refer, as noted, to the recognized blood group as *ayllu*, recognizing the mother's lineage as well as the father's.

taí'ta, senior male relative of spouse: Chart I, 12 > 3, wife's father; 17 > 3, wife's father (*suegro taí'ta*); 12 > 5, wife's father's brother; 14 > 12, wife's sister's husband (older than fourteen); Chart III, 19 > 3, wife's father (*suegro taí'ta*); 21 > 3, husband's father (*taí'ta José*)

mama, senior female relative of spouse: Chart I, 12 > 4, wife's mother; 12 > 7, wife's father's sister; 12 > 6, wife's father's brother's wife; 14 > 11, wife's sister (older than wife); Chart III, 21 > 13, husband's brother's wife (older than twenty-one); 21 > 15, husband's brother's wife (Mama Paula) (older than twenty-one)

tiu (*tio*), uncle: Chart I, 11 > 5, father's brother; 33 > 20, mother's brother; 34 > 5, mother's father's brother (Pedro Tio); 11 > 14, sister's husband;²³ 3 > 10, sister's husband (Tio Angelo); 12 > 14, wife's sister's husband; Chart II, 18 > 9, mother's sister's husband

tia, aunt: Chart I, 33, 34 > 16, mother's sister; Chart II, 18 > 7, mother's sister (Tia Antuca); 43 > 7, mother's mother's sister; Chart III, 64 > 10, father's sister (Rosa Tia); 64 > 26, father's father's sister's daughter (Marica Tia); 64 > 13, father's brother's wife (Dolor Tia); 13 > 21, husband's brother's wife

sobriño, nephew: Chart I, 16 > 34, sister's son (*nyuka sobriño*); 5 > 34, brother's daughter's son

masha, son-in-law, brother-in-law: Chart II, 6 > 19, daughter's husband; Chart III, 3, 4 > 19, daughter's husband (Masha Miguel); 20 > 19, sister's husband (Masha Miguel); 19 > 20, wife's brother (or Cuñado José)

ha'chu, daughter-in-law: Chart II, 8 > 29, son's wife; Chart III, 4 > 21, son's wife (*ha'chu pani'ko*)

pani'ko, daughter-in-law: Chart I, 33 > 13, mother's sister (Carmen Pani'ko); 33 > 16, mother's sister (Mari Pani'ko); Chart II, 8 > 29, son's wife; Chart III, 3 > 17, 21, son's wife; 12 > 21, brother's wife (Rosa Pani'ko); 15 > 21, husband's brother's wife

In practice personal names are used²⁴ rather than kinship terms, or the personal name is combined with the kinship term⁴ *Marí paniko*, *tiu Angel*. Similarly, by the way, the personal name may be added to *compadre* or *comadre*—Cumpa Juanti, Cumari Andrea. Persons of the same name address each other as (Sp. and Q.) *tucallo*.²⁵

Between cousins personal names are used, but, to describe the relationship, the Spanish terms for nephew-niece are prefixed to the brother-sister terms: *sobriño wau'ki*, *sobrina pani*, etc. Inferably, only brother-sister terms were used until the Spanish use of *primo hermano* suggested the present compound terms.²⁶

A spouse is not addressed by his or her personal name.

²³ Note that between 11 and 14 there is distrust.

²⁴ José and Rosita Ruis (Chart I, Nos. 11 and 12) call their children by name. Segundo Lema, aged nine (Chart I, No. 20), calls his little niece and nephew by name and also his sister Rosita, who is old enough to be his mother.

²⁵ According to Robert Redfield, *tucallo* is a Nahuatl term.

²⁶ Rosita once referred to a first cousin as *sobrina prima*, which was one of her many little experiments, I think.

COURTESY TERMS

Tai'ta, "father," is a term of respect very generally and widely applied: to affinal relations, to men of any distinction like prayer-makers or "masters" who teach "the doctrine," to the Sun, *Indi tai'ta*, to Dios, *tai'ta Yus*. *Mama*, "mother," is similarly applied to affinal relations, to the moon, *luna mama*,²⁷ to Eve, *mama Eva*. The Spanish uncle-aunt terms, *tiu* (*tio*) and *tia*, are even more generally applied, within the family connection or even to mere acquaintances. If applied within the family to one who is not actually uncle or aunt, some degree of the formality that goes with distrust may be implicit.²⁸ Compadre terms, given the godparent relationship, are preferred²⁹ to kinship terms.³⁰

AGE CLASS TERMS

<i>juju</i> ³¹	infant, through first year
<i>guagua</i> ³²	child, from one to seven
<i>guambrago</i>	boy, from seven to ten
<i>kwitsago</i>	girl, from seven to ten
<i>soltero</i> , <i>soltera</i> , or <i>rapaz</i> ³³	from ten to marriage
<i>casado tiu</i>	after marriage; literally, married uncle
<i>casada tia</i>	after marriage; married aunt
<i>ruko</i> (<i>tai'ta</i>)	old man
<i>paiya</i> ³⁴ (<i>mama</i>)	old woman

The last child in the family is called *atu turu*, "fox" (?).

EARLY LIFE

Rosita is familiar with the European belief that if a pregnant woman does not eat what she craves she will abort. Anger or quarreling with your husband or anybody else also brings on abortion. (The widespread Indian belief that deformity is caused by parental behavior is unfamiliar, nor is there

²⁷ Cf. *mama-quilla* ("moon" in Quechua) (Garcilasso, I, 274).

²⁸ See p. 41. But another interpretation is possible. In Peruvian kinship nomenclature there was a large number of affinity terms. These may have lapsed in the Peguche nomenclature, and the elastic Spanish terms, *tio*, *tia*, may be replacements. In some cases other Spanish kinship terms have been applied to affinal relations.

²⁹ Manuel Lema (Chart I, No. 3) addresses his sister-in-law Marica Quimbo (Chart I, No. 6) as *cumadre* and his brother-in-law Miguel Conejo (Chart I, No. 8) as *cumpadre*, as Manuel was godfather to a child in the family of each.

³⁰ Cf. Parsons 2:545.

³¹ *Tierno*, *blando* (Paris); *juju luna*, "crescent moon."

³² *Guagua romi*, "child stone," i.e., rubbing-stone for the grinding-stone (*romi*); *guagua chumbi*, a narrow belt worn by woman.

³³ The Quechua term for the unmarried youth, *auki*, is not used (see p. 44).

³⁴ This term was applied to Inca women after marriage—*palla*. Inferably in early Peru and in contemporary Ecuador for the age period from marriage through old age there was but one term, except for the generic term *warmi*, "woman."

any association between harelip [Q. *paltakiro*] and lunar eclipse.)³⁵ From Cayambe is reported the belief that if a woman, close to childbirth, hears the child crying in her belly, it is a sign that he is going to become a diviner (*adivino*), a good one. If she talks about it, he will not become a diviner.³⁶

Twins are produced, it is believed, after conception, an epigenetic theory rare among Indians. If a pregnant woman goes to a bubbling spring (*pogyo bravo*) to bathe or get water, the baby is split (*se parte el guagua*), and twins are born. Similarly, if she goes out during a thunderstorm, *el rayo* (thunder and lightning) will split the baby. Giving birth to twins is a punishment from God (*castigo de Dios*). Yet twins are lucky³⁷ and are sure to become rich, because people will make them gifts. (Rosita says this is not true. People are stingy and make no gifts; and it costs more money to bring up twins.) It is said that twins of the same sex will live; if of different sex, one will die.³⁸

Aside from the above restrictions and continence which is practiced in some families, there are no pregnancy taboos on prospective parents. A pregnant woman works as usual, even to carrying heavy packs. Two days before Matilde was born her mother carried a heavy load of cloth part way into town and would have carried it the whole distance of three miles had I not given her a lift in my car. It did not occur to her to ask her husband or her servants to carry the pack. After the birth they all waited on her constantly.

Matilde was born late at night after a labor of about three hours. Although the midwife lived close by, she was said to be unavailable; nor was Rosita's mother summoned. I surmise that Rosita was quite able to look after herself,³⁹ Matilde being the fourth child in the family.

Rosita was delivered lying in bed. In other families the woman may kneel, the husband holding her under the arms from behind.

³⁵ Canelos and Jibaro believe that deformity is caused by demonic impregnation (Karsten 4:219, 222).

³⁶ It is also reported from Cayambe that, "when a woman is carrying a girl, she gets bigger, but she feels nothing until six months when it begins to move like a mouse or jump around and kick like a guinea pig, not hurting at all. But a boy hurts from one month until the birth, moving around like a ball, a worm, or a goat. They give the woman cinnamon water and liquor (*trago*) to make her strong. With bird nests they make a smoke and smoke the woman between the legs, and from a double boiler they give her a decoction of an herb called *yuyo*." (F. A. C., a Cayambe informant.)

³⁷ See Appendix, p. 191. At Cayambe, as among Jibaro and elsewhere, a pregenetic theory is advanced, since a double impregnation is suggested to account for twins.

³⁸ This did happen in Rosita's family (see Chart I). This suggests infanticide or a conceptual survival (see Appendix, p. 191).

³⁹ According to a report made in 1887 and cited by Saenz (p. 92), a woman had no professional assistance in giving birth, and I incline to think that this is so today in Peguche and that Rosita exaggerated the function of the midwife (but see Appendix, p. 192). It certainly is not so important as among the Zapotec of Mexico.

To hasten labor a drink of *agua de canela*, cinnamon water, or of *agua de culantro* is given; also chicken eggs (Q. *lulung*) are swallowed raw. For delayed placenta two eggs⁴⁰ or onions are given raw. Scrapings from a deer horn in water are said to be a familiar remedy.⁴¹

The placenta is buried—anywhere. The cord (Sp. *blego* [umbilico]; Q. *pupo*), which is cut close, about an inch from the body,⁴² and is supposed to drop off in three days (Matilde's was off on the third day), is thrown away—anywhere. There is no lore concerning it.

There is lore about baptism. An infant (or anyone) dying unbaptized is called *auca*⁴³ (*auqui*)⁴⁴ or, curiously enough, *alma santa* and becomes a night-wandering spirit.⁴⁵ The unbaptized are buried apart in the cemetery in unsanctified ground. Baptism on the day of birth or soon afterward is urgent and is generally performed before the mother begins to suckle the infant. Indeed, an *auca* may be described as an infant dying before suckling.

Godparents⁴⁶ may be Indian or White. Indian godparents may be chosen within the family connection, and for each child there are different godparents. In some families White persons of some distinction are preferred. Our María Matilde, who was baptized in San Francisco on Palm Sunday⁴⁷

⁴⁰ Among Jibaro an egg is swallowed to promote the delivery (Karsten 1:67).

⁴¹ Parsons 2:75.

⁴² See p. 192.

⁴³ In Quito any unbaptized person is called *auca*. Catholicized Napo and Canelos call *auca*s all unbaptized Forest Indians (Karsten 4:79). In Inca Peru the term meant traitor, tyrant, and was applied in wrath to Atahualpa and his son (Garcilasso, II, 177, 528). When I was asked in Peguche, sometimes in Otavalo, if in my country people were baptized, it was a polite way of ascertaining whether or not they were savages, wild people. Cf. the need to rebaptize the woman who had started to become a bear (pp. 141-42).

⁴⁴ The term *auca* has become confused in Ecuador with the term *auqui*. In Inca Peru the sons of the Inca, the heir excepted, until they were married, were called *auqui* honorifically (Garcilasso, I, 95-96; II, 352). Today in the region of Cuzco the term is applied to spirits honorifically (Métraux, XXVII, 334; Mishkin, p. 237). Aymará of the island of Titicaca, Bolivia, dance *auqui-auqui* in their chapel the night of All Souls (Bandelier, p. 118).

⁴⁵ Among Zapotecs unbaptized deceased children become spirits around the house (Parsons 2:231). There are European parallels. In Picardy it was believed that children dying unbaptized became *feu-follet*, one kind of *lutin*. *Lutins* are little beings punished for having broken a law of the Lord by having to stay in the imperfect state of dwarf or beast (Carnoy, p. 9).

⁴⁶ Godmother, Sp. *madrina*; Q. *achimama* (*achi* = Dios); godfather, Sp. *padrino*; Q. *achitaita*.

⁴⁷ After the ten o'clock Mass María Matilde was baptized together with two other newborn Indian babes. Matilde alone had a White godmother; the second infant was held by an Indian godmother and the third by an Indian godfather. The *cura* appeared in the baptistry in his black vestments, making no change in them except when he removes his stole. He touches his finger to his mouth and then applies it to the infant in front of each ear. Next he applies the holy oil on cotton to the eyes, ears, mouth, and back. Then he pours the water from his silver mug over the head of the child, who is held face downward. He passes his hand over the head, pressing out the water. The large lit candle held by the sacristan is given to the godparent to hold, and a cap is put over the head and eyes of the infant while the *cura* pronounces the final words.

on the second day after birth and before she was suckled, had a White godmother, as had her brothers and sister. White *compadres* are an asset for anyone who has business in Otavalo or Quito.⁴⁸

Matilde's White godmother gave her a cap, a shirt, and three woolen swaddling cloths (*envoltorios*). In return the godmother was given five chickens. This interchange and other matters would have been somewhat different had the godparents been Indian. In that case the infant's father meets those chosen as godparents in the *cantina* and gives them cups of brandy, and that night he takes to their house a big basket containing four or five cooked chickens, four or five cooked guinea pigs, three *arrobas* of potatoes, and four bottles of brandy. Somewhat formal sentences are exchanged: "*Compadre*, we come to leave you these *medianito*, these things for a little banquet."

"*Bueno, compadrito*, we met in the *cantina*, we got drunk. *Bueno, con mucho gusto*. Tomorrow we go to the baptism."

"*Bueno! Gracias!*" After the baptism they go to the *chicheria*.

"*Compadrito*," says the godfather, "I am poor. I am unable to give you much." And then with the infant he hands over to the father swaddling cloths and belt. The father gives a large bottle of rum to the godparents, addressing one or the other:

(S.) kumadrita	upiapashu	(S.) si quiera	kai kupawuyapas
little <i>comadre</i>	let us drink	if you wish this	little cup (<i>copita</i>)
(S.) kumadriya	kunanga	(S.) kumadre	(S.) propio mi karpanchi mana
little <i>comadre</i>	now	<i>comadre</i>	proper already we are not
ista	karpanchichu	wasi	(S.) hinti (<i>gente</i>) mi karpanchi mana
strangers (<i>ajenos</i>)	we are	house	people already we are not
(S.) ahinu (<i>ajeno</i>)	karpanchichu	(S.) kumadrita	huiyarishpa
strangers	we are	little <i>comadre</i>	now we love each other
kaiusapashu	kunanga	(S.) lo mismo que	mama yaiya kwenta
let us live	now	the same as	mother (and) father for that
kaiusapashu			
let us live			

They all get drunk. They dance.⁴⁹ The godmother may say:

(Sp.-Q.) bailapashung	compadrito	guagua	uchia puripatshu	ama
let us dance	little <i>compadre</i>	child	quickly	may he walk not
guagua suchuyachu	guagua	ucha ucha	rimachu	
child	crippled	child	soon soon	may he talk

⁴⁸ See p. 150.

⁴⁹ Among the Peruvians of Cuzco at the naming ceremony which took place when the child was weaned, gifts were made, and after the presentation "the ceremony of drinking began, for without it no entertainment was considered good. They sang and danced until night [for three or four days or more]" (Garcilasso, I, 313-14).

Although Matilde lacked Indian godparents, her father was at the *chicheria* the day of her birth and the next day. The day of the baptism he got drunk.⁵⁰

After the baptism Matilde's ears should have been pierced by the godmother,⁵¹ but this is not done when there is a White godmother, and Matilde's were not pierced until she was twenty-seven days old. The midwife pierced them, with a steel needle, and in each ear inserted a thread.⁵²

Matilde was carried to the church by the midwife and brought back home, and when she arrived I happened to be talking to Rosita. The midwife sat down on the ground near the bed and gave a long account of everything that had happened. After about five minutes a little cry was heard, and the baby was removed from her back and at once for the first time given the breast. This was my first vivid impression of how a baby on the back is completely ignored until it cries.

María Matilde was named for a saint, and saint names are commonly used; but a child is not named for the saint on whose day he is born. Spanish baptismal names are cut down or modified,⁵³ but there are no Indian names. A few of the patronymics of Peguche are place names of Indian origin—Cotacachi (Chart II, No. 1), Muenala (Chart I, No. 14), Cajas (Chart III, No. 4)—but these patronymics do not indicate family provenience. Nicknames are in vogue in Otavaleño circles,⁵⁴ but not among Indians.

For four days after the birth the midwife visits, and each day she bathes the baby in warm water. The mother is not bathed until the confinement is concluded, which is eight days in some families; in others, thirty days; and in some, forty days. The bath may be cold outdoors in the conduit or indoors in warm water. Rosita stayed abed for twelve days; on the thirteenth day she sat for a while in the corridor, and each day thereafter she spent more time there. Knitting a little and sewing on the machine, on the twenty-eighth day she joined the burr-picking circle. On the twenty-ninth day she bathed in warm water at home, body and head, and was deloused by her husband.⁵⁵ It happened to be Friday, the weekly washday, and it was cool and windy, otherwise she would have joined the family in their open-air bath at the conduit, where clothes, body, and hair are washed. This

⁵⁰ See p. 152.

⁵¹ At the Cuzco naming ritual the godfather cut the boy's hair (Garcilasso, I, 313-14).

⁵² In the early seventeenth century the Peruvians did not perforate the ears (Bandelier, p. 75, citing Cobo).

⁵³ See Appendix, p. 190.

⁵⁴ Male: Pollo, "chicken"; Chino, "slant-eyed" (in Peru, child of Indian and Negress [Garcilasso, II, 504, n. 2]); female: Tortula, "dove"; Pajara, "bird"; Tripuda, "big-bellied"; Papon, "potato rich" (? *papuda*, "double-chinned").

⁵⁵ See pp. 157-58.

weekly cold-water bath is customary in all families of Peguche. At no time is any kind of vapor or steam bath customary.

Baby Matilde had her first cold-water tub or rather bowl when she was a few days old, on a cool, rainy afternoon outdoors in the corridor, and the experience was not at all to her liking. But her mother was ruthless. It was the first time Matilde's cry was unheeded—and she cried for ten minutes. "Cold water makes a baby strong,"⁵⁶ said both parents.

In bed and outdoors Rosita kept the baby and herself very warm, head and body, in cloths, in clothes, in blankets, all against *aire*. Habitually, women sleep in all their clothes, merely loosening their belts, and Rosita was as much clothed throughout her confinement as at any other time and more bundled up. Even in bed she kept on her headcloth and, besides, a band of woolen cloth. As soon as the confinement was over, she was quite indifferent to slight exposures, and she renewed the daily trip to and from Otavalo, a walk of five or six miles. The first day out she went to the Saturday market, the second day to Mass, the third day to a baptism in the family, and the fourth day she got around to paying her confinement Mass of eight sucres⁵⁷ to La Virgen Purísima (*sacamisa*, but this term is not used in the valley) which theoretically she should have given the first time she went out. (In Peguche, however, only a truly *devota* pays this Mass at all.)

Feeling about the cold during confinement is expressed also by not drinking cold water. Cinnamon water (*agua de canela*) and hot chocolate⁵⁸ are drunk. Potato and grain foods or soups are eaten—no meat.⁵⁹

For the first twenty-four hours or more no attempt to suckle the infant is made. To bring milk into the breasts, a soup of dried fish (Sp. *camarón*; Q. *apangura*) is taken. At the first nursing Rosita lay on her right side and, bending over the child, gave her the right breast. This continued to be the posture in nursing⁶⁰ as long as Rosita was in bed. I never saw her give the child the left breast, at that time or even later when she sat up outdoors and held the baby in the customary nursing attitude, on her lap with her right arm under the neck and shoulders. Rosita's left breast dried up, the nipple remaining undilated. Not until the sixth week after the birth, when the right breast became infected, a swelling appearing just above the nipple with a "burning" sensation in the breast, did Rosita resort to the use of the

⁵⁶ The Peruvians of Cuzco bathed the infant after birth in cold water, and cold morning baths continued, generally in the open air, to strengthen the limbs (Garcilasso, I, 315).

⁵⁷ This for a *misa rezada*; for a *misa cantada*, 12 sucres.

⁵⁸ Chocolate may be mixed with water or milk. Chocolate stirrers are not used in the valley. Chocolate is not served at fiestas.

⁵⁹ Cayambe. To make the pain go away, for several days after confinement they give the mother fig leaf and a herb called *piñisco chaqui* in water mixed with *tusa quemada* and *tiane de tiesto* and daily, morning and afternoon, for eight days or more a broth of guinea pig with eggs and the herbs *paico* and *orégano*. (F. A. C.)

⁶⁰ A Peruvian of Cuzco "leant over her child and gave it the breast," but only three times a day in accordance with the disciplinary character of the Peruvians (Garcilasso, I, 316).

left breast, with what ultimate success I do not know, as my visits terminated. To allay the "burning," she kept the breast covered with a cabbage leaf. She gave me no explanation for favoring the right breast, and I do not know positively how general the practice may be. I infer it is a common practice, because abroad, in a market, in church, on the roadside, I rarely saw an infant suckled on the left side. Women may walk along suckling an infant, but usually they suckle sitting down with the right arm under the infant's neck.

Matilde was picked up and suckled whenever she cried, whether from hunger or anything else,⁶² sometimes only three or four minutes after being suckled. The intervals grew longer, of course, to an hour or so or even, when she was three weeks old, to two hours. When Rosita began to go into town or even to go visiting in Peguche, she carried the baby with her; but on one occasion she was away from home without the baby two hours or more. As we approached the house, we saw Andrea down the road holding the crying child. Rosita called, and Andrea ran toward us. Matilde was put to the breast at once with expressions of compassion. "My poor little one! *Guagua poroto*, baby bean!"—and Rosita nursed her as she walked on home.

At first the nursing lasted only a minute or so, and for two or three days Rosita commented on how little the baby sucked. Then she began to take more, but no nursing lasted longer than five minutes, Matilde falling off to sleep. Length of nursing and frequency were entirely regulated by Matilde herself. And on this system she thrived. By the end of the first month she was a plump infant.

From the day of birth Matilde was well swaddled in a woman's belt, wrapped around her woolen cloth from shoulders to feet, precluding all motion of legs or arms which were first covered by the cloth (see Pl. XIX). In some families this swaddling is continued for six months; Rosita restricts it to three months.⁶³ Indeed, after three weeks she would remove the swaddling belt while the baby lay next her in the corridor, or after "changing" the baby's cloth—no diaper was used, but the cloth was changed after a movement—she would let the baby lie unstrapped for a while. But the baby was never carried about without the belt, and I got the impression that the lack of concern about carrying the baby was in part due to the practice of swaddling. The strapped-up baby was just as secure as any other bundle.

I could notice no effect of swaddling upon the limbs of the infant; when the belt was removed, arms and legs seemed normally active and normally developed. (Matilde's middle and index fingers of each hand were of the same length, and all the fingers seemed unusually long—no doubt, personal peculiarities which nobody noticed until I drew attention to them.)

⁶² See p. 89 for a theory about excessive crying and for its remedy.

⁶³ Peruvians of Cuzco "did not loosen the children's arms from the swaddling bands for more than three months" lest the arms become weak (Garcilasso, I, 315).

What would have happened to Matilde had her mother died in bearing her—an extraordinarily rare occurrence, according to Rosita, who could not cite a case of death in childbirth in her whole family connection—or what would happen should her mother die during the period of lactation? Other nursing mothers in the community would be asked to suckle her, perhaps two or three different women during the same day, and other women on other days. A young woman in the family connection—the cousin of Rosita's brother-in-law—did die, suddenly and mysteriously, during my visit, and in this way her baby was to be cared for. How the baby was to be nursed at night, Rosita did not know. There seems to be no practice of a woman suckling two children, her own and an orphan, continuously.

Rosita had heard of bottle feeding, but it has not been introduced at Peguche. The mother of little Laura Ruis died when Laura was seven months old, and she was then given the regular family food. Today the girl is five years old and is a robust and very pretty child. When I saw her, her father, still a widower, was combing and braiding her long glossy hair. Father and daughter live with his mother.

Commonly, lactation lasts from two to three years;⁶³ Lucila was suckled until she was two and Alberto until he was three. Children are arrayed almost like adults as soon as they begin to walk or before, in little pants and poncho, in belted skirt and backcloths, in jewelry (Pl. XX), and in felt hat;⁶⁴ and to one accustomed to baby clothes it is ever comical to see these adult-seeming miniatures standing to the nipple.

To assist weaning, *verbena* (Sp. *matico romarilla*; Q. *pishkukancha*, "bird toasted"), which is bitter to the taste, may be rubbed on the nipples. "It is bad" to suckle a child when you are pregnant.

Rosita's solicitude about suckling was in contrast to her unconcern about the way the baby was handled. In the large bed the baby was frequently left lying behind her mother's back, and one of the two older children would climb on the bed, pick up the baby, and place it for nursing. Alberto, aged seven, would do this as gently and competently as Lucila, aged ten, and there was a little rivalry for the privilege. Later on, in the third week, Lucila was allowed to carry the baby (see Pl. XIX) on her back in the carrying cloth, after their mother made the knot firm. Once even Alberto was given this privilege. (I have seen other little boys packing an infant.) After the baby was well placed on her back, Lucila was not kept in sight; she might make off for half an hour or so, probably staying away until the baby began to cry. José, the father, and Juanti, the servant, were often called upon to bring the baby out to Rosita in the corridor or take her back to the

⁶³ The Peruvians of Cuzco weaned their children at the age of two years and upward (*ibid.*, p. 313).

⁶⁴ Little girls wear a small fedora, not the great brimmed hat; nor do they wear the fiber-wool belt until they are about seven.

bed. They enjoyed doing this, and after two or three weeks they were likely to kiss the baby on the face⁶⁵ when they picked it up. In general, the handling of the baby begun to be much freer at this time.

Rosita was not a proprietary mother. She shared the baby with the household and never aroused jealousy. Indeed, Matilde was a joy to all members of the family or household, except perhaps to Andrea, the servant, who had been married seven years to Juanti but was childless. I never saw Andrea kiss the baby. Andrea was a good worker, but sexually she was undeveloped; she had never menstruated.

When Matilde is six months old, she will be placed in a swinging cradle, a child's hammock (Q. *hamaka guagua*). A large basket is used to seat the child in.

For backwardness in walking a child will be buried to the waist in sandy soil (Q. *tiu*) well warmed by the sun. He is left unwashed and warmly covered. The treatment is continued on and off for eight days.

A child is supposed to be able to talk when the fontanel closes, or rather the other way around: the fontanel will close when the child is able to talk. For backwardness in talking a hummingbird is caught alive and its beak contacted with the child's tongue inside the mouth. Also verbena is brushed across the child's mouth. For deaf mutism "there is no cure." In Peguche there are but two deaf mutes. These two adult males are unrelated. They are weavers and particularly able.⁶⁶ They are unmarried. (There are said to be no insane persons in Peguche. One middle-aged woman has been mentally incapacitated for seven years, since the time she received a head injury while drunk.)⁶⁷

The first tooth falling out is thrown over the house for Rat to attend to:

Ratón, Ratón
Lleva tu muela mala
Y tráeme
Otra más buena!⁶⁸

In Quechua:

Okucha, Okucha
Rat Rat
Apai kamba kirola
Carry (? tuyo) tooth
Apaimui nyuka ali kirola
Carry me good tooth

⁶⁵ I saw no woman kiss the baby on the face (see p. 114). Sometimes Rosita would tap with the index finger of her right hand on the upper lip of the baby—plainly a customary motion.

⁶⁶ In Inca Peru the deaf and dumb were expected to work (Garcilasso, II, 21).

⁶⁷ See p. 152.

⁶⁸ Cf. Mitla (Parsons 2:87).

PLATE XX



CHILDREN FROM EARLY CHILDHOOD ARE DRESSED JUST LIKE ADULTS

PLATE XXI



Crgenio Huamang, "Maestro Rezador"

The child life of Peguche is peculiarly happy. Children are free to play, and in the large family connections contemporary playmates are always at hand. There is a yard or corridor to play in, with no doors to be closed, and the children may wander or visit in an area which with one exception is only naturally restricted, in the fields or yards of relatives or neighbors. The exception is *perros bravos*, "fierce dogs." Plenty of play space and play time, but at the same time children are expected to contribute to the activities of the household⁶⁹ in so far as they are able.⁷⁰ Parents call upon them for many little services; to fetch things, to carry messages, to help in preparing food, to look after younger children. And these services are rendered cheerfully and freely—with little or no scolding, nagging, punishment, or threat.⁷¹ The temper of the whole family is co-operative; the children want to share in what they see their parents engaged in. A little girl wants to carry a pack because she sees her mother carrying one; a little boy wants to shell peas or rub out quinoa because he sees his father shelling or rubbing. It begins to shower, and children as well as parents rush to take in the family wash or wool or the barley drying on a mat in the yard.

The lack of any marked division of labor in the household promotes this spirit of co-operation. One day, to my astonishment, I saw Juanti the servant grinding corn, "because he wants to help," Rosita remarked. On many another day parents and servants would sit in a group picking burrs (*trimbul*) from a great basketful of wool.

The children's special interests are considered important, and the children know this. Alberto has his flute (Pl. XX), his "bean-shooter," his *tortas*, the beans that are used instead of marbles in the game very popular with boys, "Indians and Cholos;" and when José showed me his new sandals, bought for a gala occasion, with them was a like pair for Alberto. Lucila sees her mother saving scraps for a rag doll, and Lucila is adorned like her mother with earrings and red bead bracelets. Rarely if ever have I seen children as completely incorporated into the life of a household.⁷² Probably this identification of interests would not be so striking to Indians elsewhere or, indeed, to peasants anywhere as it must be to modern people who have foregone the advantages of teaching by apprenticeship and have succeeded so completely in divorcing the interests of seniors and juniors.

Much of the play is improvised and formless, but some of it is imitative. When Lucila's doll was dressed to look just like an *india*, excepting the face, which was of *white* cotton (with black yarn for eyes), Lucila and a little

⁶⁹ See pp. 155-56.

⁷⁰ In Inca Peru "even children of five years old were employed at very light work, suitable to their age" (Garcilasso, II, 34, 40, 205).

⁷¹ Once I saw Rosita, out of patience with Lucila for untimely romping, strike her with the back of her hand; and Rosita told me she would threaten to tell on the children to the Mother Superior or the padre, of whom the children are afraid.

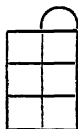
⁷² See pp. 155-56.

neighbor took the doll between them, each by an arm, for a walk or perhaps a dance, for Lucila tried to sing the popular dance tune. This doll was of walking or dancing age. Little four-year-old Laura's rag doll was wrapped in a white cloth and swaddled like a baby with a bit of belt. Once Lucila herself was the baby or perhaps just a pack carried on another child's back, and the fun was to unload her rather roughly so that she fell out in a heap. Another time Lucila, Alberto, and three cousins joined hands and ran around and around the yard and house (always turning antisunwise, by the way) as we do in "snapping the whip," except that there was no snap at the end, for they were imitating the way the bride is "pulled."⁷³ The same group gave a most laughable imitation of dancing "Negrit" on San Juan's Day.⁷⁴

Tortas, "Beans" (Q. *turtacuna*), is played by any number of boys, quite according to the rules of our game of marbles,⁷⁵ by scratching a circle on the ground and each player placing his bean or beans in the center and attempting, by casting a larger bean, to shoot the beans out of the circle. The casting bean must be played from where it falls. If it falls inside the circle, the play passes to the other fellow; it passes also when no bean is knocked out of the circle. *Tortas* is played all night long by Indians and Whites while burning candles to the Cross in the celebration of Holy Cross on May 3.⁷⁶

Girls do not play "Beans." They have a game of hopscotch called *ficha*, an object being kicked by the hopper from square to square, from "day" to

"day," but not into the half-circle "Sunday."



The "bean-shooter" has displaced the slingshot that José used as a boy. String figures seem also to be lapsing, for neither Rosita nor José had taught those they knew to the children, and they had almost forgotten them. But Rosita showed me the "Mill,"⁷⁷ worked on both hands with another person to help in the final figure, the European way; and José showed the "Thatched House," worked on one hand, Indian fashion.⁷⁸

⁷³ See p. 58.

⁷⁴ See p. 108.

⁷⁵ The Peruvians also had bean games, played by boys and men. They used round, variously colored, inedible beans called *chuy* (Garcilasso, II, 358).

⁷⁶ This association of a game with ritual has an Indian flavor. We recall, e.g., the playing of hidden ball during All Souls' Night among eastern Pueblos.

⁷⁷ Representing the funnel into which grain is poured at the electric mill in town.

⁷⁸ But there seems to be no specific Quechua term for "cat's cradle"; one says only, "*Haku puyashu* [Let us play (anything)]."

One afternoon Alberto and his cousin amused themselves kicking and throwing an inflated cow bladder.

Pelota, or ball, is played in three ways in Ecuador: by hand, the ball hit off wrist or palm rather than thrown; by bat or flat wooden stick; and by *guantes*, a circular leather-covered piece of wood with wooden pegs on the outside and finger holds inside, eighteen inches in diameter, tied to the wrist with leather thongs. Balls are of hard rubber: in handball, half the size of a baseball; in *guantes*, half again the size of one. At Peguche a few Indian boys play handball with the Cholo boys in the school, but neither here nor elsewhere have I seen any Indian group playing ball.⁷⁹ As Lucila and I passed by these ballplayers, by the way, one of the Cholos called out to her, "Have you come to look for a husband?" which upset and annoyed the little girl.

The physical aspects of marriage will not be explained to Lucila before she marries, nor will she be told in advance about menstruation.⁸⁰ Menstruation occurs between the ages of thirteen and fifteen. Rosita did not menstruate until she was sixteen, the year she was married. Menstruants usually stay at home; a little folk tale is told girls to warn them against going up the mountain during menstruation lest a bear get them.⁸¹ This "moral story" is probably significant of a sometime belief that menstruants are susceptible to impregnation by spirit animals.⁸² Menstruants may go to *prioste* entertainments, but to Mass it is forbidden to go; "it is a sin."

Menstruation lasts from two days for some women, like Rosita herself, up to eight days for other women. There is no intercourse at this time, merely as a matter of taste. After giving birth some women will menstruate in three months; Rosita does not menstruate for two years. The earlier in life menstruation occurs, it is believed, the earlier the menopause.⁸³ The menopause of one of my Peguche acquaintances occurred when she was about forty-six.

Before she is marriageable, or considered so by her family, say at sixteen or seventeen, Lucila will have learned how to sow and cultivate and harvest, to prepare grains, to cook, to wash clothes, to embroider shirts, to

⁷⁹ But see p. 128. *Q. chungai* = *pelota*; *haku chungkasha pelotao*, "let us play ball."

⁸⁰ *Kija nanaiwan*, "month, gets sick." A conceptual association between menstruation and month-moon is suggested, as is indicated also by Garcilasso in describing lunar eclipse as sickness of the moon. Unfortunately, in the eyes of the Victorian translator, menstruation is considered too "disgusting" to be mentioned (Garcilasso, I, 181-82). It is Jibaro belief that the new moon causes menstruation (Karsten 4:504). "The moon has seen her" is said of a menstruant (Karsten 3:422). However, in Cayambe, menstruation is associated with mountain mother and river (see p. 191).

⁸¹ See p. 141.

⁸² See p. 191.

⁸³ *Mana charingo kijata* or *alsashkambi kijata* (*ya no tiene mes*, "no longer has monthly").

use a sewing machine, to take care of a baby, and to take care of a man⁸⁴ when through drink he is as helpless as a baby but more troublesome. She will have learned some part or other of textile production, since that is the special interest of her family. She will have learned all the trade values of everything she has to use, as well as the techniques of bargaining. Had her mother been a potter, she would have learned all the processes of that handicraft. Similarly, Alberto, before he marries at twenty or later, will have learned how to plow, how to feed or look after animals—oxen, burros, and pigs—how to spin by wheel, to dye, and to weave. From his father he will probably learn how to build house walls and from his grandfather how to butcher and retail meat. He will know how to pack a burro and ride a horse.

MARRIAGE

Outside of kin or *compadre* circles there are no restrictions on choice of spouse within Indian circles. Strangers (*ahina*; Sp. *ajenos*) from other Indian settlements are considered desirable spouses, or, according to Rosita, even preferable spouses. Married into Peguche are persons from the near-by hamlet of Bulse (La Bolsa), Quinchuquí, and the north end of the valley. However, the greater number of matches are between neighbors, the outcome of propinquity. Girls are not taken to celebrations; they do not know how to drink, and so their contacts with eligible youths are necessarily limited to neighbors or visitors of neighbors.

In Peguche Whites are not considered eligible husbands. They do not know how to farm; they are lazy⁸⁵ (Sp. *ocioso*; Q. *kija*).⁸⁶ Nor would White women make good wives; they, too, are lazy and want others to work for them.⁸⁷ It is the general impression in Ecuador that, although there has been considerable sexual intercourse between White men and Indian women, and in Imbabura Valley even more today than formerly,⁸⁸ marriages are very infrequent.

⁸⁴ See p. 152.

⁸⁵ In Inca Peru a man who was dilatory in irrigating his land was beaten across the shoulders with a stone or was flogged over the arms and legs with osier wands as an idle, lazy fellow, for this vice was much despised among them (Garcilasso, II, 14). One of the rules for households was that none should be idle, and it was a most infamous and degrading thing to be chastised in public for idleness (*ibid.*, p. 34).

⁸⁶ It sounds like the word for "month."

⁸⁷ Cf. the attitude of the Peruvians who first saw bullocks at the plow. "They said that the Spaniards were too idle to work, and that they forced those great animals to do their work for them" (Garcilasso, II, 470).

⁸⁸ Formerly Indian women yielded only to men of position, say Otavaleños; today lower-class men, Cholos, have more success, and an Otavaleño reports that there are a few townsmen who will take advantage of a drunken *india* if no sober protector is at hand.

However, in Peguche only two women were mentioned as having had relations with White men: an elderly childless woman now widowed but promiscuous even before her husband died and a married woman (Chart III, No. 11), who, of her twelve children, had only the first four

It is said that marriage is planned by the parents.⁸⁹ However this may be, there is no formal courtship.⁹⁰ The Spanish serenade is still customary in Otavalo, and Rosita knew about it, but flute-playing by a suitor is unknown in Peguche.⁹¹ Love charms are quite unfamiliar.⁹²

Long hair in women is admired⁹³ by men and by "devils."⁹⁴ Rosita's hair falls to her waist, but once, said her husband with pride, it came to her knees.

BETROTHAL AND WEDDING

The *maytro rezador* or *maytro matrimonial* asks for the bride, calling on her parents⁹⁵ and saying the (proper) words, *las palabras*, remarking that "all the world gets married, following the example of La Virgen, who was married to José."⁹⁶ Three days later or sometimes the same day, in the evening, the father and family of the groom go to the bride's house carrying *las cosas de mediano*, "the things of the *mediano*": cooked guinea pigs and chickens, ears of corn, *chocho*, potatoes, eggs, and twenty bottles of rum. The fathers orate: "Let us marry our children with good will and with affection! *Hagamos palabray*, let us go through with the words!" Bride and groom hide away during these preliminaries.

Now they place a table in the middle of the room, cover it with a fine cloth, put down a handful of carnations, the rosaries of bride and groom,

by her husband (a notorious drunkard), the others by White men. The half-breed children are brought up as legitimate, although in hair and skin they show plainly their White blood; and a sharp-tongued kinswoman tells their mother, whom she considers *mala*, that she should have dressed them as Whites.

⁸⁹ Saenz, pp. 89-90.

⁹⁰ In the market the youth may snatch the *rebozo*, and, if she is interested in him, she will try to recover it. In the country he may throw something at her (*ibid.*, pp. 90-91). According to Cayambe youths, they merely look at or greet a girl with interest; she knows what that means and ignores the look or smiles.

⁹¹ It figured in Inca Peru (Garcilasso, I, 192-93).

⁹² From Cayambe it is reported that a man may put "dust" from under his nails in the food or drink of an indifferent girl.

⁹³ Cf. Garcilasso, II, 368. "The Indian girls are very fond of having their hair very long and black."

⁹⁴ See p. 205.

⁹⁵ In more Hispanized circles a letter will be written and answered; the bearer is referred to as *angel*.

⁹⁶ At Juan Montalvo (Cayambe), it is the parents of the suitor who visit the parents of the girl, taking with them a bottle of rum, bread, and fruit. The girl's parents may agree at once or may hold off because they do not like the suitor or from prudence or from convention (*cultura*). Suitors may be very persistent, for as long as two years. This rings like characteristic Indian nagging or refusing to take "No" for an answer, but it is described in Spanish terms "La constancia y fe vence lo que la dicha no alcanza [Constancy and faith conquer what the word does not reach]." See Appendix, p. 193.

and two rings. The bride kneels at one side of the table and the groom at the other side. The *maytro*⁹⁷ (sp. *maestro*) addresses the bride: "*Ahora si*, do you wish to marry this man?"

"*Si*."

Addressing the groom, "Do you wish to marry this woman?"

"*Si*."

"Let us place the rosaries!" The groom puts one around the neck of the bride; the bride puts the other around the neck of the groom. The rings are similarly put on. The *maytro* says: "*Ahora no es juego, no es burla* [Now it is not play, it is not joking, you are married until the tomb]." The *maytro* addresses the assembled relatives, the *ayllu*, "You are witness that they have married of their own free will." The relatives answer: "Good, this is no joke; they are married until the tomb." The groom asks the *maytro* for his blessing, and the couple kneel before him, in conclusion kissing his hand.⁹⁸ The parents and then all present give their blessings. All give counsels. Says the father, "Now, my son, you have fulfilled your destiny. It was your destiny to be married. You and your wife are to become heads of a family (*padres de familia*)." They tell the bride she must obey her husband; they tell the groom he must take care of his wife, maintain and clothe her.

This ceremony of *palabay* takes place of a Saturday. The next day, Sunday, is spent by all in feasting and drinking at the bride's house. Monday the civil marriage is performed in Otavalo, and they register at the church. The following Sunday they are due to leave the bride in the curacy to serve the priest eight days;⁹⁹ but, as the groom may not want her to undertake this *servicio taita curata*,¹⁰⁰ he commutes it, paying the priest two sucs. The party goes to the *chicheria*, where they notify the *padrinos de casamiento*, "the wedding godparents."

The following Saturday, late in the day, they go to confession, and the groom pays fifteen sucs in advance to the priest. The next morning after the eight o'clock Mass they are married. As they kneel at the altar, the priest encircles their necks with the wedding chain and places a cloth over

⁹⁷ Not to be confused with the *maytro de capilla*, "teacher of doctrine" (see pp. 84-85). The marriage *maytro* is spokesman of the words of God for marriage:

Dios	pashimikunata	remador	cas	rachingapa
	palabra	hablador	casamiento	para (h)cer.

Cf. Mexican *huehuate* (Parsons 2:82) and the early Maya go-between (Landa, p. 42).

⁹⁸ See p. 114.

⁹⁹ The same practice is reported from Riobamba, where service in the curacy is for one month (Saenz, p. 92). Living in the curacy would be good prophylaxis against demons. Canelos Indians believe that a bride is susceptible to demons (Karsten 4:210), and marriage practices at Peguche hint at a like belief (see below).

¹⁰⁰ Or modified *jus primae noctis*. Cf. this "purification" by monastic orders in Picardy (Carnoy, pp. 147, 153).

their heads.¹⁰¹ Bridal pair and godparents hold candles. In the church party is a couple called *nyopadura* (*adelante*) who precede the party on leaving the church. For further or somewhat different details let me describe the wedding I happened to see in the Church of San Francisco on Monday, April 22.

About 7:00 A.M. I went into the church to see the *responso*s for the dead, but of any offerings before the altar of the Souls there is no sign, only a wedding party is sitting near that altar. The groom, not more than eighteen years old, and his godfather, about fifty, are sitting together on one of the benches, near by on the floor sit bride and godmother and *nyupadura*. The men wear blue-and-white check ponchos, their hair, excepting the top braids, is flowing, a *rosario* of red and brass beads around the neck. The *nyupadura* attendant is dressed as usual, but bride and godmother are arrayed in full Chola skirt and blouse, with Indian backcloths of pink or white cotton. Their hair is braided and clubbed up as usual, but over the head lies a piece of white net, coarse and shabby. To my eyes they look very unattractive.

At 7:30 the *cura* walks through the church, and the party follows him, I suppose, to the sacristy. When I return at 8:15, bridal couple and godparents are kneeling at the rail of the high altar. The dark-blue cloth around the bride's neck will later be removed by the sacristan. The latter gives each a tall lit candle. The *cura* enters in his white and gilt vestments and proceeds to read the service. Within five minutes the *cura* has withdrawn, and the sacristan brings forward a paper to be signed. As the party walks down the aisle, I notice that the bride is older than the groom and advanced in pregnancy. Outside the church there is some hand-kissing, but the group of attendants waiting there is confusing, and whose hands are kissed I cannot see. As the party starts eastward on their way to the *chicheria*, I see bride and godmother putting on the *straw* hats that go with their Chola costume. The whole Chola outfit has been hired from a Chola *estanquera*.¹⁰² (Chola wedding, hence Chola dress—the complex borrowed as a whole.)

The church party and all the relatives (*ayllu*) will gather at the *chicheria*. Food is distributed: toasted corn (*kukaybi*), hominy (*mote*), and *buda*, called on this occasion *picante de la chicha*. The food is followed, of course, by *chicha*. The party moves on to an *estanco*, where everybody, including bridal couple, is given a bottle of rum. All drink and get drunk. They dance¹⁰³ to the harp, the music being paid for by the marriage godfather. Three *alcaldes* have been chosen for the wedding, and they dance with the godparents in a circle. Any relatives who are shy and reluctant to dance are forced to take part.

¹⁰¹ There is no *aras*, the dower in money given the bride by the groom in Mexico, sometimes at the church door, as in medieval England.

¹⁰² Cf. Parsons 2:102.

¹⁰³ Described as a *fandango*, but not seen by investigator.

From the *estanco* the party goes to the house of the bride, where there is another distribution of *mote*, *buda*, and *chicha*.

In the evening the *alcaldes* and all the company escort the bridal couple to some conveniently empty house where all, hand in hand, form a string and run around the house, three times, antisunwise, while the *alcaldes* shout: "Halima, halima, hachunja, hachunja! [Pull, pull, the daughter-in-law, the daughter-in-law!]"¹⁰⁴

Now the *alcaldes* take the bridal couple inside, lock the door, and carry off the key for the night. ("They are jokers, the *alcaldes*!") The next day, about noon, they unlock the door,¹⁰⁵ greet the couple, and give them a drink of cinnamon water.

All the wedding participants go to the river for the *nyavi majay* (face-washing). There is a large *batea* of water filled with flowers and rosemary.¹⁰⁶ With the wet plants the godmother washes the face of the groom, and the godfather, the face of the bride. The harpist and the *alcaldes* wash one another; the other guests do the same.

From the river they go to the house of the bride, where they sit at a long table to eat *mazamorra*, and the *mediano* of potatoes, chicken, and hominy. Before and after eating, all make the sign of the cross. Later the bridal couple goes to the house of the godparents, where the bride changes from her wedding clothes. They return to the bride's house.

Tuesday the bridal couple visit the house of the godparents, *padrino rikwi puncha*, "godparents see day." Wednesday and Thursday there is drinking of rum in all the houses of the party. The *ayllu* will have contributed from seventy to one hundred sucres for this. "If you don't drink the offered cup, they whip you." Friday it is all over.

There is no prescription in regard to remarriage by widow or widower. They may remarry "in two or three months or in two or three years." Ankel Ruis has remained a widower for four years.

In this Catholicized community formal remarriage except for the widowed is, of course, out of the question. Rosita's amazement over the possibility of recognized divorce and remarriage in other parts of the world testified to this attitude. But remating does occur. The wife of Misías Terán, the "*brujo*," left him because of his devotion to another woman. For the last twenty years Terán has lived in the house of this woman¹⁰⁷ without ever marrying. A little nephew of Terán lives with the couple, who have had no children of their own. Such "unmarried" mates are called *mapiusu*

¹⁰⁴ See Appendix, p. 194, for the Spanish wedding song and dance, of which this seems to be a highly abbreviated version.

¹⁰⁵ According to Saenz (p. 92), the door is unlocked by the *naupador* (*nyupadura*), who all night sits outside singing advice to harp accompaniment.

¹⁰⁶ *Baño de claveles*, "bath of carnations" (*ibid.*).

¹⁰⁷ *Transita Kachumel* (*Cachumuel*). She inherited her house.

askirusu, and derogatory terms are applied: in Spanish *puerco sucio*, "dirty pig"; in Quechua *mana pinga* (*sin verguenza*, "shameless"; *nachu pinga nayang*, *porque no tiene verguenza?*), *huainandiro* (*pecando con ajeno[a]*, "sinning with another's [spouse] [i.e., adulterer]"), *alkunyavi*, "dog face." (Quechua-Spanish¹⁰⁸ insults, like English, are depreciatory of dogs—*alkua huachaskwa*, "dog born"; *alkukichaska*, "dog droppings"—"that's a funny one, making you laugh.") Adultery apart, there are many couples living together without benefit of clergy.

Surreptitious relations also occur before marriage and after marriage (in a few cases with Whites) which among the unmarried may or may not lead to marriage, but most couples are said to have "marriage" in view. Sometimes the informal relationship is entered upon when the man comes from a distance so that he may get to know the girl well (Cayambe). In such a trial marriage, if a child is born before the formal marriage, the man may not be held to account, yet he will acknowledge the child.¹⁰⁹

A bachelor is referred to as *rapaz* (Sp.-Q.)¹¹⁰ or, unmarried at thirty, as *mas rapaz*, and it is assumed that he has several sweethearts. If he loses one to another man, it would not occur to him to quarrel with the rival, since his other women satisfy him. "Only Cholos fight over a woman." Fighting when drunk is not motivated by jealousy. Theoretically, jealousy is never entertained, just as it was said by the Zapotec to be unfamiliar, at least among men.

It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of being mated¹¹¹ or the singularity of living unmarried.¹¹² In the family connections of Rosita and

¹⁰⁸ See Preface, p. iv.

¹⁰⁹ From Francisco Andrango Cabezas of Cayambe, who has Cholo connections, comes the following: "When an unmarried woman feels for the first time that she has something inside, she says, 'Well, what am I going to do if God has punished me? *Dios mío*, is it because of evil conduct toward my parents that this happens to me; is it my evil hour or my evil luck?' Moved by repentance, she says, 'It is up to me to go away and work somewhere, away from my parents and my family so that they may not see me or see anybody's angry face.'" (All this sounds more Cholo than Indian.)

¹¹⁰ The term is applied to an old maid also, and, of her, it may be said, *huamita maskai rapaz*, "woman looks for a bachelor." All our talk about bachelors and maids was taken humorously by Rosita and José.

¹¹¹ A like point of view seems to have prevailed in Inca Peru. The lineage name, Inca, was bestowed only after marriage. A married man of the blood royal was also called *atauchi*. The female of Inca lineage was *nyusta* before marriage, *palla* afterward (Garcilasso, I, 96-97).

A like point of view prevails among Otavaleños. Whether or not one is married is ever the first question put to you, as you engage in conversation on a park bench, in the cemetery, say, with the White *panteonero*, on the roadside, or when invited into somebody's house.

¹¹² In Cayambe it is believed that the unmarried at death is *condemned*. This belief saddens parents of an unmarried son or daughter of advanced age. Because the single person has not married, the devil makes him or her marry a she-goat or a he-goat. This, if it is a sudden death. If the moribund can still talk, the family will summon his or her sweetheart, if there is one, to hold the hand of the moribund. If there is no sweetheart, any single person will do. By holding hands, they feel that they are married and that the moribund is thereby saved, to the tranquillity of the family.

José only one lifelong celibate, Mercedes Ruis (Chart III, No. 7), was to be found. (Except for her unwillingness to get married, there was no peculiarity about Mercedes, I am told.) Marriage does not fully determine economic status, but it is a step toward economic independence. But participation in festivity and wider sociability is determined by marriage. Girls never drink before marriage; youths, rarely.

Although certain economic roles are fixed between the sexes, there is a great deal of informal co-operation, women helping men,¹¹³ and in housework men frequently lending a hand to women, even to washing clothes or wool, to grinding corn, to rubbing out quinoa or shelling peas, or to holding the baby. The idea that men who do women's work should dress as women—transvestism—is wholly unfamiliar. Nor did I find any suggestion of homosexuality. One of the folk tales contains an overt account of bestiality—a woman sleeps with a cat as her husband—and the idea of intercourse with animals appears to be familiar.¹¹⁴ A generation or so ago a well-known gentleman of Quito, Rosita had heard it gossiped, lay with a bitch who bore him a human child with the tail of a dog; and once there was an Indian woman at Quinchuqui who copulated with a dog.¹¹⁵ "Women who do not know how to have children [*no saben tener guaguas*]" are "those who may do this." This statement was made by Rosita without criticism or any expression of outraged feeling.

Rosita stresses the importance of continence in connection with child-bearing. She remains continent throughout pregnancy and for one year after childbirth,¹¹⁶ a practice not altogether general in Peguche. Some women have a child every year. In some families, according to Rosita, there are ten, twelve, or even fourteen children. The amount of intercourse at any time varies from couple to couple; every night for some, less often for others. Rosita had no shyness in speaking of this or of other matters of sex. Of contraception or of notions about means to conceive or to determine sex she was ignorant. I asked her if she had ever noticed whether José got drunk more often during their long periods of continence than at other times. "No, he did not," she said; and, as I expected, the very idea was strange to her, too strange even to question me about it. From Cayambe masturba-

¹¹³ Cf. early Peru, where every man knew how to weave, till, and build and where "the women knew all these arts also, practicing them with great diligence, and helping their husbands" (Garcilasso, II, 27).

¹¹⁴ Sodomy is mentioned as a pre-Inca trait "in some provinces" (*ibid.*, I, 59; II, 154-55), and it was severely punished as "a crime which the Yncas abominated beyond anything."

¹¹⁵ Rosita mentions these cases just as did an Inca general: "There were some sodomites . . . not in all the valleys, but one here and one there, nor was it a habit of all the inhabitants, but only of certain particular persons" (*ibid.*, I, 245).

¹¹⁶ Continence throughout the period of lactation was the practice of the Peruvians of Cuzco (*ibid.*, p. 317).

tion is reported as practiced, but only by a few; Indian informants believe it is more common among Whites.

Between the sexes there is the familiar distinction in posture, men sitting with legs outstretched; women, with legs underneath or with right leg under and left knee raised. In sitting down, a woman will kneel, bend forward on-to doubled-up hands, and then straighten up on folded legs. I was always reminded of a cow lying down, although a cow drops first to her forelegs. Both men and women walk flat-footed. In carrying very heavy burdens, men will go at a trot. Both men and women are constant carriers; but a woman is never without her carrying cloth, and there is generally something in it. Men go about their business more often back-free. You often pass men on the road with nothing but a flute in their belt or a cigarette on the brim of their hat. Women do not smoke, but they, too, carry on their hat brim a folded headcloth or things that might be crushed if thrust into the chemise, commonly a bulging receptacle.

As a rule, on the road a woman follows the man she is with, but men and women often walk together in a group, instead of single file. Walkers of either sex somewhat favor single file, "like cranes," says Garcilasso, or Indians anywhere.

Road greetings are in Quechua: *nyachurihupangi*, "Thou art going"; *nyarihupanimi*, "I am going" (Sp. *ya me voy*); or *buenas dias, tia* or *tiu*, "Good day, aunt or uncle." On entering a house at all formally, you ask: *shamupasha mingachiway*, "Can you offer hospitality?" The host will answer: *shamupayja kayguma shamupay* (Sp., *venga no mas, a casita venga*), "Come, indeed, come to (my) little house," or *yaiкупay okuguma*, "Enter the corridor." On leaving anybody or at any time, you say: *rinimi*, "I am going," or *hasta kashkâma* (Sp. *hasta luego*), or *kayakâma* (Sp. *hasta mañana*). Between Indians the Spanish embrace or the handshake is not customary; and, when either is performed for the benefit of a White, it is reduced into a slight and listless contact. Sometimes, indeed, in shaking hands the hand is kept covered by the poncho. Yet, if a man is feeling gay from liquor, he may kiss your hand, as Manuel Ruis, meeting me on the road, kissed mine, or as I saw Pedro Lema kiss the hand of his niece Rosita. To a priest, to his *patron*, sometimes to other Whites, an Indian will raise his hat;¹²⁷ he removes it when passing by a church, and inside the church Indian women as well as men take off their hats, an indication that Indians took to wearing hats in imitation of their men, as might anyhow be inferred.

Neither sex makes much use of gesture. I have seen Rosita place the index finger of her right hand vertically over her mouth, for her as for us, a silencing gesture. Only once did I see any suggestion of lip-pointing.¹²⁸ The

¹²⁷ Otavaleños commonly bare their heads in passing a padre but less commonly, I think, than the Indians and far less commonly in passing by a church.

¹²⁸ See p. 98.

hands are not used in pointing or in attracting attention. For this, the head is thrown back.

Men and women seem to enjoy the same kind of humor—jokes about sex, about dung, about lousiness,¹¹⁹ or about personal singularities, laughing at somebody (*asi*, "laugh," *naian*, "desire"). One Venturo is laughed at in the family (Chart I), for example, because he calls himself Buena Venturita, "Good Little Luck."

SICKNESS AND CURING

Within her household Rosita uses a great many plant remedies or medicines. The following list is a small part of them, for I never went walking with Rosita that she did not point out others, and all these we did not collect. Indeed, every plant is a remedy for something, she herself once remarked. Yet she is firm also in the belief that prayer, too, is essential: "Only those who know how to pray can cure."

Boiled maize is "good for the stomach."¹²⁰

For malaria Rosita has an elaborate herbal prescription, a quicker and much more effectual remedy, she insists, than the quinine of the drugstore. It is a decoction of verbena,¹²¹ *botoncillo*¹²² *alpakinua*, *flor de nacha*, *flor de irba* (*yerba mura*, *pelo de choclo* ("corn hair") (Q. *chuguacha*), and a little *linaza* (linseed). A remedy for "fever" is *púshe*, the white clay used for felt hats and on the spinner's fingers, together with *miyoko* (a root vegetable like potato) or *oka*.

Nettle (Q. *sini*) is good for several fits of illness, the seizures that here, as elsewhere among Spanish Indians, are called *ataque*: nerves, rheumatism, or pain in the lungs. You rub it on, it stings, and the pain goes.¹²³ The thistle (Sp. and Q., Carlo Santo) with a yellow bloom, growing on the edges of a cornfield, is boiled and drunk against witchcraft, "nobody can bewitch you." The leaves of *ambululong* (little purple flower) are heated together with egg, which serves as an adhesive, and applied to the jaw for toothache.

Rosemary (Sp. *romero*; Q. *romirota*), which may certainly be considered a

¹¹⁹ See p. 157.

¹²⁰ Garcilasso reports (II, 357) that the Spanish doctors used maize flour in lieu of wheat flour "in the treatment of all diseases."

¹²¹ A medicinal or ritual plant in Spain, in ancient Peru, and among Jibaro (Karsten 4:507). The night festival on the eve of a Spanish saint's day is called *verbena* (Sp. dictionary).

¹²² The root of *botoncillo* together with other things is used as a clyster by Canelos Indians (Karsten 4:509).

¹²³ At Cayambe the above ailments are all attributed to "bad wind," and treatment by nettle may be prescribed (Appendix, p. 196). Inferably, the "*ataque*" at Peguche is from "bad wind" also.

ritual plant,¹²⁴ is also a remedy for toothache. Cinnamon (Sp. *canela*; Q. *ishpingo*),¹²⁵ is also ritualistic—cinnamon water is drunk by the bridal couple, drunk in childbed, served with rum at saint's day celebrations, and a bit of the plant is chewed and sprayed by the curer. I learned of no narcotic except the little magenta field poppy (*dormidera*) which is applied fresh to the head for sleeplessness. For sale in the Otavalo market is *aya huasca*, "dead (soul) vine," an inch or so of fibrous vine.¹²⁶ (The name *aya huasca*, the narcotic of the Oriente, was known to Rosita, who so identified my market specimen, but Rosita said she did not know how it was used.) The idea of plant spirits seems quite unfamiliar.

Another market *remedio* is toucan (Sp. *predicador*) beak,¹²⁷ not the whole beak but a bit to scrape as powder.¹²⁸ Rosita identified the beak as that of the *predicador* but did not know how it was used. All market-sold *remedios* are said by Chola vendors to be for *mal de corazón*.

For *mal de corazón* or any sort of seizure (*ataque*) obsidian is dropped into decoctions.¹²⁹ Bits of obsidian, *plata de Inca*, Inca money,¹³⁰ or *aya kulki*, dead (soul) silver, are quite common in the fields of Peguche, and I found some in the mound of Quinchuquí that was trenched by the *hacendado*.

Urine is a remedy for Rainbow or for mountain-sent disease.¹³¹

If you rub a dead housefly (*raku chuspi*, "big fly") onto a cut that is healing, there will be no scar.

For broken bones one kills a dog and with its blood makes a plaster, binding it with a belt. In a month the bone mends. An arm or leg is never

¹²⁴ See p. 199.

¹²⁵ Canelos remedy for diarrhea and stomach ache, a decoction of bark or flower (Karsten 4:507).

¹²⁶ *Bannisteria ca'api* (Karsten 1:6). One of the two narcotic drinks used in divination (Karsten 4:432 ff.) by Jibaro and Canelos Indians, among whom plant animism is developed. The other Jibaro-Canelos narcotic is *datura* (*hu'antuc*). Both plants are cultivated by Jibaro and Canelos. To narcotized Canelos medicine men *datura* appears "as a little white man in black clothes, who arrives to cure the evils he has inflicted 'smoking a big cigar'" (Karsten 4:391).

Datura leaves are used by Peguche and Cayambe curers to envelop what has been cleansed from the patient (see pp. 71-72) or at Cayambe to sweep out the house of death (Appendix, p. 202).

¹²⁷ Bird beaks are kept by Jibaro hunters for a purpose other than medicinal—to attract birds (Karsten 1:44). But Jibaro believe the toucan is a demoniacal bird bewitching people with its large beak (Karsten 4:389). Obviously, the beak might also be prophylactic.

¹²⁸ For scraping bird beak for *aire* and for *mal de corazón*, "heart trouble," see Parsons 2:119.

¹²⁹ For use of stone amulets among Jibaro see Karsten 3:367-68.

¹³⁰ An amusing secondary interpretation. Obsidian was used originally for knives.

¹³¹ See p. 66. Cf. use among the Zapotec (Parsons 2:119) and in Yucatán (Redfield, p. 73). Urine is also a Spanish or European remedy.

From Cayambe it is reported that if a cow drops a calf in the *paramo* the owner must urinate over the calf; otherwise, if the cow is gentle, a condor will seize the calf.

cut off, remarked Rosita, as in the White hospital at Quito, quite unnecessarily. Rosita would not go to the Quito hospital,¹³² an attitude not uncommon, I am told, among Quiteños themselves.

There is no hospital at Otavalo,¹³³ but there are public health doctors and a dispensary conducted by the Sisters of Charity, who fill prescriptions. The doctor's service is free;¹³⁴ the medicine is bought, and, in comparison with home *remedios*, naturally seems high priced to the Indians. However, the dispensary is used by the Indians. Rosita, for one, will buy boric acid, which she knows is a good wash for sore eyes in an infant. She also gets honey¹³⁵ from the dispensary as a laxative for the baby and oil or milk of magnesia for herself.¹³⁶ Stronger cathartics are not supplied, although apparently they are needed. In some cases elimination is quite neglected.

School children in Otavalo are vaccinated, but there are many pock-marked adults, and in Peguche vaccine has never been used. Only three years ago there was an epidemic of smallpox. In Rosita's household José, Andrea the servant, and little Lucila got it. Rosita administered a purge and applied vaseline.

Ailments that are unidentified, so to speak, or pains anywhere in the body may be attributed to *mal aire*, "bad air," to Rainbow (*cuichi*), or, by many, to witchcraft. Rosita accepts the two first diagnoses but not the third, which runs counter to the Church and indirectly, as we shall see, to her economic betterment.

Pains from *aire* are cured, as in Mexico and elsewhere,¹³⁷ by passing an egg over the body—*se limpia con huevo*, "you cleanse with egg." Particular persons, not necessarily midwives or curers at large (the term *curandero* is rarely if ever used at Peguche), know how to cure by egg.¹³⁸ Cleansing by egg is *not* witchcraft. Nor is cleansing by guinea pig, another cure for *aire*. You rub a dead guinea pig over the body, and the pain leaves you and goes

¹³² See p. 167.

¹³³ Nor surgical instruments. The autopsy made in the witch-suspect case reported in *El Comercio* on August 14, 1940, was made with carpenter tools!

¹³⁴ The public health doctor of the municipality has an average of 450 calls a month. Perhaps 10 per cent are Indians. Patients are not classified as White or Indian, and little or no case history is kept. No house calls are made. When I reported that the Peguche folk were about to eat meat said to be from poisoned cattle, acting on the information was not considered a public responsibility. Later I heard that the dead cattle were being buried. The cattle were not poisoned; they had died of some fever, and it was dangerous to eat the infected meat.

¹³⁵ Cf. Garcilasso, II, 395.

¹³⁶ See p. 167.

¹³⁷ Parsons 2:136-37. This method is familiar to Whites in Otavalo and Quito, who say that the rainbow causes fever and wounds.

¹³⁸ For details see Appendix, p. 197.

into the guinea pig.¹³⁹ Nobody knows what *aire* is; they know only that it causes pain. *Mal aire* may be referred to as agent¹⁴⁰ or, more commonly, as the sickness or pain itself.¹⁴¹ After encountering a night-wandering spirit, it,¹⁴² *pega mal aire, mal viento*, bad air, bad wind strikes you.

The second day after Matilde's birth Rosita suffered pains in shoulder and back, afterbirth pains not experienced, she said, at the birth of her other children. "What should cause them?" she asked me. "They are quite common after childbirth," I answered, "and they will pass." But Rosita's mother called and advised her to be cured by egg; the pains were caused by *aire*.¹⁴³ The next day I learned that early in the morning the egg treatment had been given, Rosita getting up for it, and the pains had ceased. Rosita was feeling cheerful not only because of relief from pain or ache but because she was satisfied that she had taken the proper and effectual remedy.

She enjoyed the same satisfaction when she caused little Lucila to be cured of *granos, granitos*, "little pimples," as any skin eruption or malady, any sore, may be called in Spanish America. After a bath in the stream, in the Rio Jatunyacu, Lucila's face broke out. She must have touched the boulder¹⁴⁴ which is the "house" of Rainbow.¹⁴⁵ And so her mother took two guinea pigs, one white and one black, to the "house" and fastened them there alive, for Rainbow.¹⁴⁶ She also left there some cooked food—meat and potatoes—and some cigarettes and matches.¹⁴⁷

It is generally believed both in White and in Indian circles throughout

¹³⁹ See *ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Garcilasso, I, 49. Among Canelos Indians, Huaira Supai (Wind Demon) resembles a monkey and may be seen flying through the air. He is the spirit of disease-bringing winds and is much feared (Karsten 4:387, 428).

¹⁴¹ Cf. Parsons 2:118–20; Redfield, pp. 61 ff.; Bandelier, p. 93. The concept of *santo aire*, an ill wind from the saint, precludes keeping a saint's image in the house.

¹⁴² See p. 89. Or, at Cayambe, neglecting funeral exorcism when the deceased sends *mal viento* (Appendix, p. 203).

¹⁴³ Sudden, unexpected, or localized pains are attributed to bewitchment among Jibaro (Karsten 4:394; Stirling, p. 116), in Mexico and elsewhere. But Rosita does not believe in witchcraft.

¹⁴⁴ At Cayambe at the edge of a large *acequia* that passes to the Hacienda Ishigto there lies a flat rock on the middle of which the spirit (*duende*) stands to bathe just at noon. If persons go there to wash clothes or to bathe before noon, they have bad accidents. If they go after the spirit has bathed, nothing happens to them.

¹⁴⁵ In Inca belief rocks and great stones were *huaca*, sacred places entered by the spirits (Garcilasso, I, 115) or, in pre-Inca belief, themselves spirits (*ibid.*, p. 47).

¹⁴⁶ For guinea pig offerings in Inca Peru see Molina, p. 62; Salcamayhua, p. 85. Garcilasso refers (II, 372) to "modern wizards" as "sacrificing" maize, vegetables, and fruits, *chicha*, cold water, wool, clothes, sheep, and "many other things," including *coca* leaves.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. the offerings to the spirits causing *granos* in Maya Yucatan (Redfield, p. 69).

the country¹⁴⁸ that Rainbow malady,¹⁴⁹ unless treated, causes death¹⁵⁰ or insanity. I heard of the fear of Rainbow first from a White woman in Quito, where prophylaxis or cure was to urinate in the direction of the rainbow or to kill and skin two guinea pigs and rub them over the body in the belief that the sickness would pass into the animals.¹⁵¹ Rainbow-sent eruptions or sores (*sale pura materia, sale agua*) may be treated by guinea pig in this way or by egg also in Peguche, and urine and rum may be *blown* on the patient. Obsidian is also used as a remedy in Rainbow maladies (*quando pega el cuichi*), but how I do not know. (Obsidian is *not* derived from Rainbow.)

Rainbow causes sickness¹⁵² also in animals, and here *se cura cuichi* by purging.

The place under the rainbow or where it ends is particularly threatened.¹⁵³ One afternoon when I remarked to Rosita that on the way to her house I had seen a rainbow, she asked eagerly its whereabouts. "Over the Hacienda San Vicente, *no mas*," and that relieved her.¹⁵⁴

For fright in a baby (Sp. *bebe espanto*) you hold him head downward and, shaking him vigorously, call out, "Shungo! Shungo! [Heart! Heart!]"¹⁵⁵ If an older child is frightened, you put the leaf of the gourd called *sambo* on his belly, wave a rosary around him, and call out his name; or, as among the Zapotec, you may go the place of fright, scratch a cross on the ground, and pour out some rum. (You do *not* kill a chicken.)¹⁵⁶ Then in the corners of your house you call into the water jar filled with water and flowers, "Venga! Venga! Vamos a casa!" For adults there is a more elaborate herbal treatment.

¹⁴⁸ Cañar (Rivet, p. 91).

¹⁴⁹ In Cayambe there are two kinds, red and white. *Cuichic colorado* is serious swellings and abscesses all over the body; *cuichic blanco* is comparatively trifling: blisters over face, hands, and feet (see Appendix, p. 198). Lucila's case was, in Cayambe terms, white *cuichic*.

Cuichic colorado appears to be what the Spaniards called *bubas*, "pustules," believing it was contracted from Indian women (Quito, 1573, p. 61).

¹⁵⁰ Aymar  forbids children to gaze at Rainbow lest it kill them (Bandelier, p. 100).

¹⁵¹ Curing with guinea pig (method not specified) was familiar in early Peru (Bandelier, p. 154, n. 118, citing Arriaga).

¹⁵² In Inca Peru they called "the rainbow Chuychu, and, owing to the veneration they felt for it, when they saw it in the air, they shut their mouths, and put their hands over them, for they said that if they exposed their teeth it would decay and loosen them" (Garcilasso, I, 276). Covering the mouth with the hand is a widespread Indian gesture on being startled or disconcerted. Garcilasso's interpretation of the gesture is probably a secondary explanation.

¹⁵³ See Cayambe (Appendix, p. 198, n. 45).

¹⁵⁴ The foot of the rainbow seemed to the early Peruvians a fearful place, since there a *huaca* or other awful thing would be found (Bandelier, p. 154, n. 111, citing Cobo).

¹⁵⁵ See p. 198 for Cayambe cure. Cf., for fright sickness, Zapoteca (Parsons 2:120-23), Laguna Pueblo Indians (Parsons 3:191, 717); Chiricahua Apache (Opler, p. 224).

¹⁵⁶ Chicken sacrifice or offering is unfamiliar. Chickens and domestic turkeys were introduced by the Spaniards.

The two treatments I saw given for fright varied somewhat from this generalized account. One was given by an old woman, a hacienda Indian of Natahuela at the northeastern end of the valley;¹⁵⁷ the other by Josefina Terán, a *curandera* of Peguche with an active midwife practice among Indian and Whites. She is a sister of Misías Terán, the best known "witch doctor" of Peguche. Their father was White. Josefina's cure was preceded by diagnosis and cleansing (exorcism) by guinea pig. I will describe the treatment as a whole.

Rosita removes her belts and first lies down so that Josefina may more easily pass the guinea pig over her head, neck, chest, and stomach; for her back under her clothes, she sits up. Josefina holds the guinea pig firmly around the neck; at first it squeaks a little, but it does not struggle. Its back is brushed, rather than rubbed, over the patient. Within ten minutes the guinea pig is dead, by slow strangulation.

María now brings a small bowl of water, and over it Josefina skins the animal, beginning from the back feet and pulling off the skin in one piece. She uses only her hands, cutting by nail. She looks carefully at the body, finding some white spots which indicate *shungo*. Then she opens the body with her fingers and pulls out the entrails, which she throws to the puppy. She inspects all the organs intently, communicating to Rosita what she sees. The organs are not full of blood, *ensangrentados*; so it is not fever. They indicate debility only, not bewitchment. Some long whitish fibers seem particularly significant.¹⁵⁸ The heart is prognostic: if the upper parts open and close "like a mouth," the patient will die; if they do not move, the patient will recover. Happily, they do not move, and Rosita will recover.

Josefina throws the guinea-pig remains to the lean mother of the puppy and dips her fingers in the bloody water in the bowl. She has not removed her many rings, and so deftly has she worked that only the ends of her fingers suggest the butchery. She refers to the whole process as *limpiando*, "cleansing." It is pretty clear that the animal is taking over, if not merely catching, all the ailments of the patient. However, practically, it is diagnosis rather than purification or exorcism, for now the cure for fright proceeds.

Into a little bowl containing lard supplied by María, Josefina has dropped her own pulverized cinnamon (*polvo de canela*) and a small round tablet of chocolate. All this María has heated and melted, and now Josefina rubs it on Rosita, on all the seats of pain. Josefina has very firm hands, and the neck rub hurts—"Eh! eh!" from Rosita. As Rosita sits up for the back rub, Josefina has her move her arms forward with her hands clasped. Then Josefina makes the sign of the cross over her back with the usual words of prayer, and she hits her back three times, saying each time, "Rosita, Rosita. Shungo, shungo, shungo!"

¹⁵⁷ See pp. 167-68.

¹⁵⁸ See p. 197.

Meanwhile little Alberto has fetched from the ravine some leaves of *takso de gallinazo*, which Josefina puts under her own belt (to warm them, I think),¹⁵⁹ glancing at me to see if I am looking. This is the only time she shows any self-consciousness. The massage is repeated, and then Rosita is held at the waist and, as far as her sitting posture permits, shaken up and down, three times, Josefina saying at each shake, "Shungo! Shungo! Shungo!" In pairs the leaves are put around Rosita's waist, Josefina blowing from the lips in the sign of the cross on the first pair of leaves. The belts are replaced, and Josefina gives a short final massage to the arms.

Throughout, Josefina has talked in a conversational vein, with Rosita rejoining, expressing interest in every detail. While the pay is being collected for Josefina to bundle on her back—two *sambos* (each worth two reales) and about eighteen ears of maize—Josefina asks me if they cure this way in my country. "Yes, and they suck too."

"But that is *de brujo* [witchcraft,]" remarks Rosita. Josefina, sister of the Peguche sorcerer who sucks, says nothing.

Sorcerers (Sp. *brujo*), as professional curers, *curanderos* (Q. *kambidura*), are generally called,¹⁶⁰ are able to send sickening creatures into the body, also to suck them out—snakes, fish, worms. One sorcerer may send them in, and another take them out. Sorcerers are also diviners.¹⁶¹

An enemy must work through a professional to bewitch you; there seems to be little or no private black magic.¹⁶² Envy is believed to be the prime cause of the kind of enmity that resorts to witchcraft.¹⁶³ But I surmise from general attitudes and from an incident in the "cure" I experienced that envious desire to harm another is not directly or overtly expressed; rather the harm or injury you have received from another is to be turned back

¹⁵⁹ See p. 196.

¹⁶⁰ Other Quechua terms are *yachatakushka* and *kanchamiko*. A mongrel term is *bruhung-gapa*.

¹⁶¹ In the provinces before the Inca conquest many sorcerers and witches "only exercised their art, to be able to talk to the devil, so as to gain a reputation with the people, giving replies to things that were asked, and making themselves great priests and priestesses" (Garcilasso, I, 60). Despite disparagement by the Catholicized Inca, divining was in high repute also in Inca culture (*ibid.*, II, 372, 378, 459).

¹⁶² Once I heard of placing a candle on a table and calling out the name of a victim. The Spanish belief in *mal ojo*, "evil eye," hurtful to cows and infants, is said to be entertained by some Peguche persons who will cure an infant by spraying him with chewed squash pips. This is not the usual cure, and I am not certain that the evil eye was actually being described. At any rate, the belief seems far less current than elsewhere in Spanish America.

¹⁶³ "Women used the art of bewitching people, oftener women than men, from envy or some other evil motive" (Garcilasso, I, 60). Among the sayings of the great Inca Pachacutec recorded through Father Blas Valera and Garcilasso is this: "Envy is a worm that gnaws and consumes the entrails of the envious" (Garcilasso, II, 208, cited by Means, p. 262). Is it possible that the Father misunderstood the saying, which should read: "Envy sends a worm that gnaws and consumes the entrails of the envied"?

upon the sender, much as any *casus belli* is worked up. This is the line of black magic used overtly wherever a sorcerer works against another sorcerer and tacitly wherever bewitchment is thrown back upon the bewitcher.¹⁶⁴ I surmise that this kind of retaliation, throwing back the curse, is an even more common attitude in practicing black magic than has been realized.

There are three practitioners in Peguche: Pablo Rimachi, José María Romero, and Misías Terán. Rimachi, who bears the name of a conquistador, is from Pucara. I heard of him too late to arrange a visit. Romero was born at Monserrate and married into Peguche. Romero looks Indian and his manners are Indian. Terán was born in Peguche, but his father was White, and he shows it quite plainly, a large man, with something of a beard. When we first called on José María, he was absent in Quito, giving treatment to a White patient, but from Misías I succeeded finally in getting a treatment. José and Rosita kept putting me off, being very loath to introduce me to Terán; but at last Rosita went with me to his house. It was in the middle of the morning, and Misías had not yet slept off the effects of two treatments given the night before—treatments are supposed to be given at night, and at each treatment a bottle of rum is drunk.¹⁶⁵ Practitioners are reputed to be hard drinkers and generally incapacitated by day.

However, Misías overheard us talking in the corridor, came out, and asked "what favor was wished," did I want him to divine (*adivinar la suerte*)¹⁶⁶ or to learn about a marriage or about a robbery or to have him cure? "To cure." So Rosita and I were invited into the bedroom, and a mat was spread. I was asked for two *sucres* to buy a bottle of rum and a candle.¹⁶⁷ Misías delayed some time in returning from the *chicheria*, and, when he came back, the bottle was half-empty. The candle was placed in a small, black clay candlestick and lit. Misías and Rosita sat down on the mat on one side, and I on the other side facing them, the unlit candle between us. From a small, rectangular covered basket alongside, Misías takes out five bits of *ishpingo*, "vanilla," placing them near the candle. He asks me for ten *sucres*. I put down two bills. He asks for the money in silver. He asks for a *sucro* in *plata blanca*, "white money," as the smaller-sized issue is called. Two *sucres* he places in front of Rosita, and he calls for his wife to come and sit with us with money in front of her—it is *malo*, "bad," not to have money in front of you. The woman does not come.

Now he shows me how to blow, three times on the candle—a forcible expiration from the throat. He lights the candle. "No es pecado [It is not

¹⁶⁴ As among Jibaro (Karsten 4:418; see also below, p. 199) and many other peoples.

¹⁶⁵ Jibaro medicine men cure by night, in a darkened room, and they have to become gradually narcotized (Karsten 4:413, 414; Stirling, p. 119).

¹⁶⁶ Divination by tossing corn kernels or beans (Parsons 2:306-12) is unfamiliar. But see Molina, p. 14.


¹⁶⁷ Cf. Parsons 2:305; Redfield, p. 57.

a sin],” he remarks to Rosita. “It is not a sin to cure; only to kill when somebody asks you to do so.”

He asks my name. He asks for “tobacco,” and I give him a package of cigarettes, the kind that is folded over at both ends, in thick yellowish paper. He orders me to hold my palms out near the candle. He asks for a handkerchief and he scrubs the palms hard. Again he asks my name. He stares at the candle flame. Again he asks my name; he cannot remember it. “No es pecado!” he exclaims for the third time, and from his basket he takes a powder and sprinkles some on the candle flame, which sparks.¹⁶⁸ This appears to be divination or diagnosis, for he proceeds to state that the suitor I rejected had sent *gusanos*, “worms,”¹⁶⁹ into my neck and upward into my head and eyes. He orders me to remove my glasses, and he stares into my eyes. He looks at my tongue. “*Pobre! Pobre!*” Poor thing! He takes hold of one hand, then the other. He is heavy-handed, almost rough, and impatient when his *orders* are not at once understood or carried out. In talk which is mixed Quechua and Spanish he emphasizes *yo*, “I,” in an unusual way. (I wondered if all this was the effect of the liquor that in other circumstances also makes men self-assertive or whether it was traditional professional behavior until I got the Cayambe account of curing,¹⁷⁰ which prescribes overbearing behavior.)

The diagnosis completed, Misías proposes that we leave and return another day. We demur to this, but he leaves the room, and there is nothing for us to do but to retrieve half the fee and step into the corridor, where we see Misías already lying asleep. His wife tells us to return in the afternoon.

On our return Misías is considerably recovered. He pats me on the shoulder and bids us take our positions inside on the mat. He lights two candles and closes the door “porque eso es muy secreto [because this is (to be) very secret].” He bids me put down the money I removed. He arranges alongside the *ishpingo* (cinnamon), a spray of *tigrecillo*,¹⁷¹ the bottle of rum, and takes out two cigarettes. He shows me how to blow from the throat twice on each end of one of the cigarettes. The other cigarette he lights and puffs at very fast,¹⁷² depositing the ashes on a bit of white paper (provided by me), together with a sprinkle of powder from his basket.

He asks my name, scratches a little cross on the ground, with a spot on each side , and remarks to Rosita, “This is Elisa [left spot facing out];

¹⁶⁸ The Aymara sorcerer casts something on his ritual fire which causes it to spit and crackle (Bandelier, p. 98). See p. 174 for early Peruvian divination from fire or flame.

¹⁶⁹ Among Jibaro, worms are sent into the body by a sorcerer and are therefore invoked by medicine men in curing sorcerer-sent sickness (Karsten 3:293). For distinction between bewitchment and disease see Karsten 4:394.

¹⁷⁰ See Appendix, p. 196.

¹⁷¹ *Tigrecillo* (*Piperonia* sp.). See Appendix, p. 197.

¹⁷² The Brazilian Tapirape shaman smokes to intoxication (Wagley 1:258).

this [right spot], her enemy. The evil (*malo*) he sent into her I am going to send back into him."

He stands up, takes a drink from his bottle, rolls up his cotton pants well above the knee, and orders me to remove shoes and stockings, head kerchief, and glasses. Kneeling close to me, he bids me repeat three times: "Yo creo en Dios"¹⁷³ [I believe in God], and three times, "Yo creo en la Virgen Santísima [I believe in the Holy Virgin]"—indubitable sanctification for what is to follow and possibly an invocation.¹⁷⁴

He manipulates toes and ankles, fingers and wrists, neck and forehead, with no light hands. Puffing the cigarettes I exhaled on, he blows the smoke in large mouthfuls on my feet, chest, and head.¹⁷⁵ At this time, in fact, most of the time, Misías stares or glares at his patient.

Now Misías reaches for his cinnamon and *tigrecillo*, chews some, takes a mouthful of rum and, standing up, sprays¹⁷⁶ it all violently over my feet and legs. Then he sprays another mouthful into my face. He orders me to put out my tongue.¹⁷⁷ I demur, suggesting that instead he spray the neck. He orders me to pull down my neck-fitted sweater as far as I can, two or three inches,¹⁷⁸ and he proceeds to spray.¹⁷⁹

He goes toward the door, turning his back on us. From there he asks impatiently if not angrily if I still want him to take out the *gusanos*? "Yes, of course." Coming back, he stands over me, growls and snorts violently¹⁸⁰ and bestially,¹⁸¹ pounces and sucks¹⁸² one side of my neck, strongly but not

¹⁷³ Cf. Appendix, p. 196.

¹⁷⁴ We may recall the story of the shipwrecked Spanish sailor who repeated the "Credo" so as not to be taken for a devil (Garcilasso, I, 44, 45).

¹⁷⁵ Among Jibaro, tobacco is a staple against disease and enhances the power of the body, particularly to resist evil spirits (Karsten 4:442) or to summon spirits (Stirling, p. 120).

¹⁷⁶ *Brujo hambiñg fukushba*, "witch cures he belows"; (*sopla*) *pami hambiñg*, "in this way he cures." (Rosita agrees with the view held ever by the padres throughout Spanish America that "blowing" is witchcraft.)

¹⁷⁷ The Jibaro medicine man blows and sprays tobacco water, sometimes into the mouth (women are given tobacco juice through the mouth, men through the nose). Then he sucks vigorously and holds up to view what he says he has sucked out (Karsten 4:418, 442).

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Appendix, p. 197, where the patient is nude.

¹⁷⁹ For Mexico and elsewhere see Parsons 2:135, 136; Redfield, references to *santiguar*; and note the lines in an early Peruvian poem addressed to the god Viracocha (Means, p. 437):

"Being one who
Even with his spittle can work sorcery."

¹⁸⁰ Described as *bravura*, "fierceness," at Cayambe (Appendix, p. 196). The behavior of Misías is certainly that of one possessed, although there is no verbal expression of this concept. Cf. Lowie, p. 423, for South American parallels.

¹⁸¹ Among Canelos Indians jaguar or tiger cat, the *puma supay*, is invoked in curing. These beasts are incarnate medicine men (Karsten 4:387). The Tapirape shaman has a jaguar familiar (Wagley 1:256; also for Carajá, Lipkind, p. 250).

¹⁸² *Shimiwa shupang*, "with his mouth he sucks"; *shupashpami shitang* (Sp. *mala kunata*), "sucking, he casts away all evils."

painfully, and then from his mouth he takes out a dark-brown cylindrical quid about two inches long and puts it on the piece of paper near the candle. "Now you see it, you see it!" he exclaims excitedly. "Que bueno! Que bueno!" I respond. Again he moves toward the door, returns, and, snorting again but less violently, sucks the other side of the neck, and presents to us another brown quid, less compact, more stringy or fibrous-looking. "Que animalito!" we exclaim. A third one is sucked from the back of the neck. As this is being shown us, we hear voices outside, and, when Misías goes to the door, I take advantage of the interruption and draw on my stockings.

When Misías returns, he asks for a sucre to pay the person who will carry away the *animalitos* to a distant gully, a dangerous task. The door opens halfway; he hands out the parcel wrapped in a large datura¹⁸³ leaf and sprays the recipient (his wife) with rum—the spraying is obviously prophylactic, a protective rite.

Closing the door and returning to us, Misías asks, "Is it good?"

"Muy bueno, muy contenta." That pleases him, and he shakes hands with us both and sits down again behind the candles. He sprinkles his powder on them; one sparks, the other goes out. "Mala suerte [Bad luck,]" he comments.

Now he puts pinches of the cigarette ash and powder he had previously prepared into my outstretched palms and with his index finger taps vigorously on each palm. He does this also for Rosita. It is for *buena suerte*, "good luck."

In two days I am to return, he says, for another treatment.¹⁸⁴ I need twelve treatments¹⁸⁵ to be rid of all the destructive "animals" inside my head.

Three I am rid of, but the others are still there, for I did not return. However, I was truly *muy contenta*. One finger ached a little, my dress was stained, and I was reeking of rum; but had I not been through one of the oldest of American Indian rituals well performed?

The reactions of Rosita and José, to whom we described the treatment, are of interest. Rosita, who had never been cured for witchcraft or attended a cure before, said that at first she felt like laughing but that then she began to be frightened. It was, of course, funny to her to see me take off my stockings, and afterward with a laugh she wondered what Señor Andrade would think when he drove me back to town and smelt the rum. Rosita has as

¹⁸³ Sp. *floripundel*; Q. *huanu*. Two subspecies of datura grow in the valley: *Datura arborea* (white bloom) and *Datura stramonium* (yellow or red bloom). The juice from the rind of *D. stramonium* is drunk as a narcotic for divination by dream by the Jibaro (Karsten 4:438). Rosita knew of no medicinal use of datura.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. successive treatments, every other day, at Cayambe (Appendix, p. 197).

¹⁸⁵ The Jibaro medicine man gives successive sucking treatments; there is more than one *tunchi* to be extracted (Karsten 4:418; Stirling, p. 118).

keen a sense of the ludicrous based on incongruity as anybody I know. José laughed even more; the whole affair and every detail we related seemed ridiculous to him, but from another angle, that of the scoffer. "Yuya brujo [Lying witch,] says José. Why *yuya* (Sp. *mentira*)? "Porque no es cierto [Because it is not true]." This seems to be the prevailing attitude of Peguche people toward their sorcerers,¹⁸⁶ of whom, nevertheless, they are not quite unafraid.

Misías plainly welcomed the opportunity to impress Rosita. Probably he is visited more by Whites than by Indians.¹⁸⁷ Once he was taken to Guayaquil¹⁸⁸ to treat a White patient. As we left Misías' house, we saw a White patient waiting in the corridor for his turn, a young man with a bandage around his jaw.

Earlier, during the diagnosis, another White man dropped by obviously to eavesdrop, to Rosita's annoyance. For one thing she would not like to have it reported to the *cura* that she had visited a sorcerer. "Catholics hear Mass and believe in the saints," Rosita had said to me. "They do not believe in witchcraft. *Es pecado* [It is sin]. *Masones* or *Protestantes* visit a sorcerer to have him send *animalitos* into a person."

Through Rosita I met the wife of José María Romero during my 1941 visit and although I called alone, Rosita being sick, José María was quite acquiescent about divining for me about a missing ring. Was it lost or stolen? How might I recover it? "Have you brought cigarettes and a candle?" he asks. Cigarettes, yes; but not a candle. Two other clients are sitting in the corridor, a couple from near Tabacundo, canton of Cayambe, and the woman offers us her little white candle. José María declines it; it won't do. "They are strangers (*ajenos*)."

So he sends his daughter to buy a candle for which I pay 2.50 sucres. Meanwhile the Cayambe couple have told me

¹⁸⁶ The early attitude was different, it was reported in 1582. "Anciently the Indians of all this district worshipped at the *guacas*, where the Demon appeared to them and the Indian witches (*hechiceros*) talked with him, and they believed in and revered those Indian witches and did all that the witches ordered" (*Relación de Otavalo*, p. 111). On the other hand, there was a certain type of Peruvian diviner (district unspecified) said by those who consulted them to be unreliable "because they always lied" (Molina, p. 13). So some degree of skepticism may be pre-Spanish.

¹⁸⁷ Witch doctors in Argentina are patronized more by Whites than by Indians (Métraux).

¹⁸⁸ A Cholo stranger from Guayaquil was treated by the witch Patricio Arias (living near the cotton mill La Joya) the night of July 28, 1940. The stranger died the following day (*El Comercio*, August 14, 1940).

On April 18, 1940, *El Comercio* had reported another *brujo-curandero* case. A witch in the parish of Yaruqui, province of Pichincha, a hacienda Indian, gave a night treatment to one José María Morales, in the house of Morales. A candle, a bottle of rum, tobacco, and "certain kitchen things" were supplied, and the witch shut himself in with the patient. Three kinsmen eavesdropped and, frightened by the guttural sounds and unintelligible phrases of the witch and believing he had harmed the patient, set upon him when he left the house about eleven o'clock and beat him with sticks and, as he was escaping, fired a fatal shot. (From this, I take it, the patient and his kinsmen were Cholos unaware of the need of *bravura*.)

about their robbery: blankets and all clothes except what they had on were stolen from their house—skirts, backcloths, belts, poncho, hats. They started at once to get help from José María, staying overnight near Espejo.

How long José María may have kept them waiting I do not know, but they still had to wait, for he told me to enter his room. We sit down in a corner on logs against the walls, a mat in front. His daughter lights a candle end, closes the door, and sits down near by on one of the two cane bedsteads. José María proceeds to rub my candle over the back of my right hand, three times, then over the palm, four times; over the back of the left hand, twice, over the palm four or five times. From his throat he blows twice on the candle and passes it to me to do likewise. He lights the candle from the one burning and on a little melted wax stands it up at the edge of the mat.

He asks for a cigarette, lights it in the candle flame, and smokes quietly without puffing the smoke anywhere. He asks if I am living in the hotel and where did I keep the ring?

"Sometimes in a box; sometimes I wore it. I don't know if it was stolen or just lost." Gazing into the candle flame, José María says quite positively that the ring was not stolen; it fell off my finger. He smokes another cigarette, his eyes always on the flame. For further information he will have to arrange for (*componer*) *ishpingo* (Sp. *canela*, cinnamon) and carnations, which he can get in the market, if I give him a sucre. He smokes and gazes at the flame. "The ring has fallen off in the road; perhaps as you were walking, perhaps from the car. Come back tomorrow." He asks for another sucre for this *visto*. He blows out the candle, and I take my leave.

The following morning I find José María cutting some bamboo near the house, and he asks me to wait a little while. His wife Francisca is not there; his cousin, a poor widow, she tells me, from Monserrate, is in charge. As soon as she sees me, she starts to grind the cinnamon on a conveniently flat stone with a dark, polished one (an ancient artifact, I think) which fits vertically into the palm of her right hand. For hard pressure from time to time she puts the left hand around the upper end of the stone and of the index finger of her right hand, thus bearing down with both hands. The base of the stone is flat. She uses her left hand also to brush back the scattering powder. After covering the pulverized cinnamon with a flap of paper weighted with a little stone—a needful precaution against the nosing dog, the woman takes off the line some of the unusually elaborate wash: a large pink tablecloth with drawn work of floral design, large white bed sheets, cotton flannel pajamas, a man's shirt with cuff-button holes—all store-bought things. José María has been shopping in Quito. (A polo cap hangs on a bamboo rafter.)

An hour or more passes as the cousin settles down to spin from a distaff tied to a post in the corridor. Finally, José María returns with his wife and a large gourd of *chicha*. They have been to a house-roofing *minga* to which

José María contributed his bamboo, and he and Francisca both had the air of having had a good time.

José María offers me some of the *chicha*, but *chicha* will not be used in our tardy ceremony; a bottle of rum is necessary. He asks for 3.40 sucres and sends for the rum a man who had been helping him cut the bamboo and who is to be invited to sit in on the ceremony. Francisca and her cousin also attend, and all are given drinks and are talked to from time to time by José María, who seems to like to talk informally to somebody or other, just as did Misías Terán in his ceremony.

Francisca folds and lays down on the mat a white cotton headcloth. This is called the *mesa*, "the table," inferably the altar cloth.¹⁸⁹ Yesterday's half-burned candle is produced, and José María bids me rub it hard on each palm and on my chest. He lights it and places it on the edge of the cloth with the bottle behind it. To one side is the paper of cinnamon and also a paper containing a grayish powder, "from a mine in the East," which José María is to sprinkle on the flame to make it spark out, as did Terán.

Now José María arranges in the middle of the cloth, forming a little circle, or, rather, four points, his four stemless crimson carnations. From his small covered basket, one just like Terán's, he takes out a highly polished dark stone, much the size and shape of the grinding-stone, and places it in the center of the flowers. To each flower, radiating so that a cross design emerges, he adds a shell—three are spiral univalves and one a bivalve (half a scollop shell). On top of the antique central stone he places a translucent glass marble with a little white figure in the center, a "five-cent store" affair, no doubt, instead of a crystal. His altar is complete.

He asks for a cigarette, puffs smoke on the altar, including the candle, blows twice from throat into the bottle, and takes a mouthful which he sprays over the altar. He takes a quiet smoke, his eyes fixed on the marble, and then he tells me it is certain the ring is lost. I shall not find it. So that's that.

But was this not the second time I had lost the ring? "Yes," I answer. He can arrange (*componer*) so I will not keep losing things. Would I like that? "Yes."

"What will you pay?"

"Five sucres."

"I want ten sucres."

"Bueno." And the second ceremony begins.

He replaces the marble in the basket. His wife hands him two sprigs of *lechero* leaves and two sprigs of some other plant to place at each tip of the cross design. He asks for a sucre and places it where the marble had been, on top of the antique stone. More smoke-puffing and rum-spraying. In be-

¹⁸⁹ This term, used regularly for altar, might easily mislead any one describing at second hand into thinking the altar was *table set*, not *ground laid*.

tween he makes noises between a hiss and a whistle through his teeth which correspond to the animal sounds made by Terán but are less violent—perhaps José María's spirit is a bird. He prays for a minute in Quechua, concluding with the sign of the cross over the altar, "in the name of the Father, in the name of the Son, in the name of the Holy Ghost" (*Espiritu Santu*) He bids me put down the ten sures, and he sprinkles a pinch of the gray powder on the bills. He takes a drink, this time from a tiny wooden bowl or cup that has been set on the altar. He refills it for me. It is only a mouthful but, pretending to blow my nose—my digestion happens to be upset—I spit into my handkerchief while he is busy giving a drink to the others.

He bids me place my right hand on the altar, palm upward. He puffs smoke on it, sprays rum, and repeats for the left hand. With a cloth he scrubs hard both palms held toward him. He puffs smoke into them and then closes them as if they were to hold in the smoke each time. He blows from his throat twice on both ends and middle of a cigarette and gives it to me to light by the candle and to smoke. He puts into my hands two of the carnations and a pinch of the gray powder and bids me rub my hands hard together. I rub and rub and then shake off what is left into a bit of paper he holds underneath. He balls it up and casts it into the middle of the room. Later he will spray rum on the little ball—so this seems to be a cleansing (*limpiado*). He looks carefully at my palms and turns them so the others can take a look, commenting the while (I infer that if nothing stuck to them it was a good sign, but this is where I most miss Rosita).

On the altar he has placed a small chunk of something which he now hands me to "try." I nibble; it might be wax. I take the particle out of my mouth, of which he disapproves. More puffing and spraying; more whistle-hisses. Another much longer prayer in Quechua. He bids me remove the wrist watch, eye glasses, and coat. After blowing twice from his throat on the sucre on the altar, he presses it firmly to the middle of my forehead, where it sticks for a minute or two, while the rum circulates. When the coin falls into my lap, he orders me not to touch it, and he blows on it again. He asks for a bit of cloth. Not being an Indian woman, I haven't any, of course, which annoys him, so I offer my handkerchief. In a corner he wraps up the sucre, now well charmed, together with a carnation and a pinch of the gray powder, and tells me I am to keep it all as a *guardia* and that, when I return another year to Otavalo, I am to visit him and tell him I have not lost a single thing during my absence.

Again he fills the tiny cup with rum for me, but this time he sprinkles into it in the sign of the cross some of the cinnamon and again in the sign of the cross a pinch of the gray powder! The powder or powders float on top. He looks at the design intently, pointing it out and commenting to the others. I am in a jam! For he looks closely at me as I take the mouthful;

he suspects something. I suppose he has smelt the rum on the handkerchief. "Swallow it! Do not spit it out!" I turn my head away. "Speak to me," he says, knowing, of course, that if I speak I must swallow. "Speak to me!" They are all looking at me, with concern, almost with consternation. I am well aware that it would be like spitting out the Blood. And this time I would have swallowed but for that gray powder that makes a candle spark. What would it do to my stomach? So in plain sight I spit again into my handkerchief, in which the coin is knotted. Fortunately, that placates him. It is not inside me, but at least it is in a good place.

Again he bids me place my right hand, palm upward, on the altar. With his index finger he presses down hard on the tip of the middle finger, above the wrist, and then with some of the gray powder he presses down very hard in the middle of the palm, leaving a blackish spot of powder. All this is repeated for the left hand. He passes his hand down the neck of my sweater and on the breast bone presses another pinch of powder. He puffs smoke down the chest and sprays rum. (He remarks that all the cigarettes are gone, and he would like to have some on hand. I put down four reales.) Then he blesses me with the sign of the cross. I stand and step toward the door; but he moves ahead and turning quickly sprays me over with rum, so unexpectedly that I turn my head instinctively to protect my eyes, which makes the ladies laugh.

In comparing the ceremonies of Misías and José María, it is obvious that certain rites or practices are identical, although they compose somewhat differently: the candle for diagnosis, puffing smoke, spraying rum, rubbing the palms of the hand,¹⁹⁰ the use of cinnamon, the medicine basket, getting pay step by step, so to speak, and sounds indicative of a spirit companion. But in some particulars José María's methods differ from those of Misías. José María was not overbearing; even when I was refractory, he did not attempt to bully, as I am sure Misías would have bullied. This was partly a personality difference, I think, and partly cultural—in general, José María seemed more Indian than Misías. Why Misías did not make more of an altar, setting out stones or shells, I do not know. *All brujos have stones which they are given in the mountains by the spirits (duendes) who accompany them* (Rosita).

DEATH AND BURIAL

In White Otavalo the *velorio*, "the wake," lasts one night, and burial takes place the day after death. In Peguche also this is sometimes the practice, but generally the wake, *biloriu*, lasts three nights. A *maytro* (*maestro*) or *maytro rezador*, master prayer-maker, is in request if the deceased is married (or past the age of marriage?).¹⁹¹ The mourners eat and drink and get

¹⁹⁰ Probably there is more to learn about this.

¹⁹¹ See p. 143. *Maytro rezador shamushka rizangapa biloriupi*, "master prayer-makers come to pray at the wake."

drunk. At the wake of a child (*angelito guagua*, "little angel baby") up to the age of fifteen a violinist plays dance music to which the godparents dance¹⁹²—some mothers dance and do not cry, others cry and do not dance—all this in the early Spanish mode.¹⁹³ The godmother supplies the shroud, up to marriage,¹⁹⁴ and the *angelito* a crown of gilt paper. The family supplies the coffin.

The corpse is washed¹⁹⁵ and then brushed with rosemary and carnations. A sprig of rosemary is placed under the arm, "which means it will be needed by the deceased."¹⁹⁶ Rosemary and flowers, probably those that have been passed over the corpse, are placed in the coffin above the lower part of the body on top of the white cotton shroud. Bread and fruits in a food gourd or tied up in a cloth are also placed in the coffin near the head. The grave cross lies temporarily on top of the corpse.¹⁹⁷

Coffin and little wooden cross are fetched from Otavalo from the street of the coffin-makers the day of the death. A child's coffin is painted white; an adult's, orange or magenta; and once I saw a black coffin, unusually large and escorted to the cemetery by more people than usual.

Funeral parties pass through Otavalo about nine o'clock in the morning. Sometimes the little formless procession of men and women stops at the Church of San Francisco for a burial service, which costs fifteen sucres, but usually it goes directly down the street to the cemetery. For a child's funeral the violinist is in the lead, carrying his instrument but not playing it until he reaches the lane to the cemetery.¹⁹⁸ The child's coffin is carried on the shoulder; the adult's coffin, on a bier.

¹⁹² General among highland Indians. The dance is called *sirichi* (Karsten 4:485, n. 1).

¹⁹³ Zapotec (Parsons 2:148-50); Yaqui (Spicer, p. 38). See Bemelmans, pp. 97-98, for the observance of a still more elaborate Spanish funeral for an *angelito* by Ecuadorian Indians. The seated *angelito* is carried from house to house for several days.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. Yaqui (Spicer, pp. 103, 216-17). Yaqui godparents are responsible for the entire funeral of an unmarried person. It is a return for the feast given the godparents at the baptism, and "it is thought of as the essential feature in the whole relationship" between godparents and the parents of their godchild. See also Parsons 2:149.

¹⁹⁵ *Mimistiring armachinggapa wanyushkata (necesita bañarle al muerto)*, "It is necessary to bathe the dead." See Appendix, p. 200, for carrying the corpse to the irrigation ditch. I surmise because of the use of ritual flowers, as in the wedding wash, that the Peguche corpse is also carried to the ditch.

¹⁹⁶ "A weapon in the other life . . . against any danger on the road" (Appendix, p. 199). See tales, pp. 143-44, which indicate a sometime belief in the capture of the dead by spirits.

¹⁹⁷ See Appendix, pp. 199-200, for burial practices at San Rafael and at Juan Montalvo, Pichincha Province.

¹⁹⁸ There is no violinist in the more formal procession of a White child. I watched that of a pupil in the boys' school of Diez de Agosto. First came the sacristan, carrying a cross covered with magenta cloth, and three chanting altar boys in white vestments and magenta collars. The classmates follow, two by two, some carrying bouquets or wreaths of white roses. Then

Down the long street they make their way to the double cemetery, the Indian part separated by a high wall from the part for Whites, and deposit the coffin at the foot of the tall central cross, *la santísima cruz*. The lid is removed from the coffin, exposing the shrouded body and the half-uncovered face. The headcloth is down over the eye and the shroud pulled up over the mouth. Near the head of the coffin, outside on the left, a lighted candle is affixed by dripped wax.¹⁹⁹ The women mourners gather around, and one or two, the closest relatives, begin to wail.²⁰⁰ They are addressing the deceased: "We were companions. Together we did this or that. We had a good life."

The women sit around the open coffin for an hour or more, the wailing cadence²⁰¹ intermittent while the other women chat and even laugh; then the lid is nailed down with a stone, and the coffin is carried to the grave and lowered. At one burial the White cemetery keeper, the *panteonero*, failed to supply the lowering ropes, and women loaned their belts, showing a surprising lack of fear of death "contagion."

After the coffin is down, holy water from the Church of San Francisco may be passed to the *panteonero* to cast into the grave accompanied by prayer. Wailing is renewed, and in one instance an old woman who had wailed very persistently tried to throw herself into the grave.²⁰² A youth restrained her, holding her from behind by her arms. After some earth has been shoveled in, two grave-diggers jump in to stamp down the soil.²⁰³ The grave is narrow, wide enough only for the narrow coffin; it is about six feet deep. All the graves are orientated south and north, head to the south. Earth is piled

the white silk-covered coffin, borne on their shoulders by boys. Lastly, the priest in gold and crimson vestments, and several men in black. There are no women in the procession, but a few attend the church service, as does a little girl all in white and wearing a white veil.

In the church there is a candle at each corner of the little coffin, with flowers in bottles or jars alongside. At the head, at the foot of the cross, are two paper angels. The priest asperses the coffin. The bells ring doubly fast as the procession approaches and as it departs for the cemetery.

¹⁹⁹ For light on the "road" taken by the deceased see Appendix, p. 200.

²⁰⁰ In Quechua wailing is described as *Kaparishpa huakaka huanyushkamanta ya kishpa* (*gritar llora el muerto [?] de la pena*).

²⁰¹ In early Quito there was much funeral wailing (*grandes voces y planto*) (Quito, 1573, p. 93). There was wailing, too, in Inca Peru and professional wailing during the past century at funerals in Cuzco. The *barrio* wailing women were paid in currency. The funeral procession was led by men carrying candles and by a violinist and a clarinet player (Squier, p. 459). The Jibaro widow *chants* to the deceased, praising him and reminding him of episodes in their past life (Karsten 4:456).

²⁰² See Appendix, p. 203. In White Quito circles, I am told, it is not unusual for chief mourners to manifest suicidal intent. In early Indian Quito the most beloved wife was buried with the deceased (Quito, 1573, pp. 93-94). In Peru women and retainers were sometimes buried with the Inca.

²⁰³ I have seen fragments of bone in excavated grave soil but nothing like a whole burial.

over the grave in a low mound, about a foot high. This mound is considered important. At one burial a good deal of trouble was taken to get enough earth to make the mound. (I heard a man remark with an emphasis I did not then understand that no earth was left over. It meant the deceased had died at his appointed time.)²⁶⁴ At another time I saw a funeral party on their way out gather around a grave furrowed by rain. The mound had been washed out, and there were cracks on the surface. *Pobre! Pobre!* they exclaimed; and a woman said to the *panteonero* that lest such a thing happen to her grave she would prefer to be entombed in the concrete vault. There are several of these vaults which, unlike the grave, are orientated west (head) and east.²⁶⁵ The large central cross faces west.

After the grave mound is completed and the cross fixed at the head, a clothful of cooked victuals—potatoes, corn, etc.—is laid on top of the mound for the grave-diggers; it is the lunch of the dead, *almuerzo del muerto*, a *regalo* for their work.

On the cross has been written the name of the deceased and the date of death. Sometimes on the spot the *panteonero*²⁶⁶ is asked to write it. For this and for his prayer he charges a fee the amount of which is generally disputed. Not even at the graveside is bargaining foregone!

Now the women and all outsiders will withdraw, and the men of the family connection will encircle the grave while a senior, if not a *maestro*, who has been in attendance at the wake will lead in a long prayer delivered in Quechua.

Last of all, the chief woman mourner, sometimes more than one woman, will step over the grave mound, go around the head of the mound antisunwise, and step over it again—this for an *angelito* as well as for an adult. Inferably, this is the same rite as that observed in San Rafael and Juan Montalvo when a child is passed across the corpse of the house father in order to forget and not be “impassioned” for the deceased.²⁶⁷ But in Peguche interpretation was lacking.

²⁶⁴ See Appendix, p. 202.

²⁶⁵ Although both vault and trench are undoubtedly Spanish forms of burial, they also, curiously enough, suggest the prehistoric burials of this region, the deep “wells” and the mounds or rude oven-shaped vaults of stones over which earth was heaped.

²⁶⁶ The *panteonero* is a loquacious and inquisitive fellow. Among other questions he asks if there are *naturales*, “natives, Indians,” in my country. He tells me that *una carta de comendación*, “a letter of commendation,” is put into the coffin. Rosita denied this, and it seems improbable. The *panteonero* also tells me that grave permits have to be obtained from the *cura* of San Francisco, who keeps a *mapa* of the graves, family by family. There are some family plots—José and Rosita have one—but they are not common and are probably an innovation. Only Rosita’s deceased child is buried, or rather entombed, in her plot; José’s father is not buried there.

²⁶⁷ Appendix, p. 200.

CHAPTER V

RELIGION

In the municipality of Otavalo there are three churches, representing three parishes: the churches of San Luis Obispo, of San Francisco, and of El Señor de Jordán. The parish of San Luis contains the *parcialidades* of Rinconada, Punyaro, Santiaguillo, Imbabuela, and Mojanda. Baptismal, funeral, and memorial services are performed irrespective of parochial boundaries in San Francisco. The parish of El Jordán contains the *parcialidades* of Monserrate, Peguche, Quinchuquí, Ilumán, La Compañía, and Agato. Parish priests are in charge at San Luis and San Francisco; San Franciscan friars are in charge at Jordán. The friars are replaced every three years; their order was re-established in Otavalo fifteen years ago.

Peguche, like other settlements or villages, has a chapel, but the sacraments of baptism, confirmation, and marriage are performed in the parish church. For the last sacrament the Peguche family whenever possible will send for the priest, who makes no charge for this ritual; and a funeral service is often held in the church. On Mondays and Thursdays Masses and *resposos* are said in all the churches for the Souls, *las almas*—Masses¹ for the Whites, *resposos* for the Indians, who deposit grains, fruits, bread, and meat under the altar of the Souls. From 5:00 A.M. to 9:00 A.M. the Indians bring their offerings, which the priest sprinkles with holy water and appropriates. For each service, every few minutes, the bell of San Francisco repeats its clamor—more gratifying to those regardful of their dead, I may say, than to one who would sleep a little longer.

From their crops the Indians pay *primicia*, "first fruits," and *diezmos*, "tithes," to their parish church. The church sells the rights to tithes to Otavaleño merchants, who collect the produce. Instead of tithes *hacendados* will send from five to ten baskets of produce to the church. "Convinced by their priests," writes José Antonio Maldonado of Cayambe, the Indians "give *primicia* and *diezmos* as if it were a divine law and a way to conquer a heaven."

The cult of the saints was organized in early Spanish Ecuador much as in early Mexico or elsewhere in Spanish America. Every village or settlement, every town or city, has its patron saint and major saint's day celebration. Other saints may also be specially identified with any unit of population, and their days also may be celebrated, although in less degree. The saints are the "advocates, *abogados*, of the dead," and one had better stand in

¹ *Misa de alma*, from 10 to 300 sucres.

with them—a point of view I have never heard advanced in other Indian circles. Besides, the saints bring blessings to the living, a belief general among both Indians and White people.

In charge of each locally notable saint there is a manager, a *mayordomo* or, to use the prevailing term in Ecuador, a *prioste*.² In Peguche, as generally in Ecuador, men volunteer for the office, which may be continued from one to three years. The installation takes place some time in advance of the *fiesta*, and the incoming *prioste* party, carrying large candles, visits the parish church to give a Mass.³ Every man in Peguche and in other Indian communities is expected to perform this duty, *pasar cargo*, as soon as he becomes the head of a household and can afford the expenditure; once is enough, but he may undertake the charge several times—"six times, even ten times." Manuel Lema was *prioste* or *capitán*, the usual Peguche term,⁴ four times: when he was twenty-five and married three years for El Señor de Jordán and later for Santa Lucila, San José, and San Agostin; José Ruis, married at nineteen, an independent householder at twenty-four, became *prioste* for El Señor de Jordán when he was twenty-six and served three years. When a man fails to undertake his charge promptly (*no pasa cargo pronto*), he is called *mukusu* (*mocoso*), "an inexperienced youth." People say to him: *Pasai karguta, mukusu!* They also call him *pobre*, "poor," or *salcaje*, "a savage."⁵

A *capitán* may have two assistants, *pajes*, youths or men who have not yet served as *capitán*.

Small boys, called *loa* (Sp. for short panegyric), may also attend the *capitán*. On entering his house, they address a few words to the Lord Jesus Christ (Peguche), and again, as orators, they take part in dramatization (San Rafael).⁶

Except on patron saint's day, and then rarely, is there any dramatization. At vespers the saint is carried from the *capilla*, the chapel, to the house of the *capitán* for the night. The table-litter is set down in the middle of the room. There is no altar. The next morning the saint is carried on his litter and escorted by the *capitán* and others to the parish church in Otavalo, where a Mass is to be paid. Saint and banner are placed on the altar, and after the Mass they are carried back to the chapel, whence relatives and *compadres* move on to the house of the *capitán* to feast.

² This term became current also in Uruápan, Michoacan, Mexico. The term *cargador*, as well as the term *mayordomo*, is used in Yucatan (Parsons 2:154, n. 2).

³ See p. 109.

⁴ *Prioste* is Spanish; *capitán*, Quechua(!) (or early Spanish; see p. 207, n. 82).

⁵ *Mana cargo yalishka* [*?ya li ishka*], "Thou hast not fulfilled *el cargo*" (*no has pasado el cargo*), is the greatest of insults (Saenz, p. 79). Note similar disesteem among Zapotec (Parsons 2:178, 193) and Yaqui (Spicer, p. 53).

⁶ See pp. 101 and 103.

Elaborate preparations have been made. Bombs (*camaritas*) are to be set off, as in Mexico, gunpowder in a piece of pipe.⁷ Foodstuffs and liquors have been contributed by relatives and *compadres*, who also contribute their services. Wood for the cook fires has been brought in, and a pile raised which may last over for some time. A cross is set at the top of the pile. The main dish is *boda* (Sp. *mazamorra* or *colada*), the ritual dish of fine corn meal cooked in water; and the *prioste* house is called *boda huasi* (Sp. *casa función*). Mutton, beef, guinea pig, chicken, fruits, and wheat bread are also served. After eating, the party drink *chicha* and rum all night long. Rum may be mixed with *canela* (cinnamon) water. Flutes and panpipes are played, and *la banda*, the brass band of White musicians, is employed. Men and women dance or merely stagger around, since everybody gets drunk.

At the installation of the *capitán* and his assistants there is also some celebration, with a Mass and the passing-on of large candles.⁸

Besides the *capitanes* there are chapel officials: the *sindico*, who keeps the keys (and is responsible for church property), and several *alcaldes*, *mayor* and *minor* or *kati alcalde*, "second alcalde," who act as sheriffs,⁹ taking those who get drunk and fight at *fiestas* into Otavalo to be fined by the Comisario Nacional, and to this extent these chapel *alcaldes* are secular officers. *Alcaldes de capilla*¹⁰ also assume responsibility for assembling work parties, *mingas*, desired by the parish church, of which also they may be considered to be *alcaldes*. The five *alcaldes*¹¹ of the Peguche chapel are also *alcaldes* of the Church of Jordán. The first and second *alcaldes* are changed at the New Year if they so wish; otherwise they may hold office for two or three years. *Alcaldes de capilla* have canes of office (*baras*), which are kept in the chapel.¹²

In parish church and more particularly in chapel organization lies the nearest approach to self-government to be found in Peguche or in any Indian settlements in the valley or elsewhere in Andean Indian Ecuador.¹³ By 1573 the *alcalde* system was established in the district of Quito, and, as we noted, the 1580 report on eastern highland Ecuador states that "all

⁷ At the *fiesta* of El Señor de Jordán los "Voladores" or "Sartas," fire balls that run from the church portal and back, are set off; but nothing like the Mexican use of fireworks, so popular among both Whites and Indians, is to be seen in Ecuador. There are no fireworks, for example, at the funeral of an *angelito*. Nor is the art of the *maytro kwitero* (*maestro cohetero*) as highly developed.

⁸ See p. 109. Cf. Parsons 2:195-200.

⁹ See Appendix, p. 208.

¹⁰ In distinction to the *alcaldes de doctrina*, who function today only in connection with the haciendas (see Appen., pp. 207-8).

¹¹ Rafael Lema, Antonio Cotocachi, José Ruis, Severio Terán, and Casimiro Díaz.

¹² See Appendix, p. 207.

¹³ See Appendix, pp. 207-8.

the towns have churches and *alcaldes* and they [the Indians] live in an orderly manner and are intelligent people."¹⁴ The edict of Philip III in 1618 provided for an Indian *alcalde* in every pueblo or settlement (*reducción*), or, if more than eighty houses, for two *alcaldes* and two *regidores*, but at most no more than two *alcaldes* and four *regidores*. These were to be elected at the New Year, "as is the practice in Spanish and Indian pueblos," in the presence of the *curas*.¹⁵ In New Mexico it was found that the two *curas* dictated elections, and their presence at elections was prohibited. Separation of church and state was initiated and a measure of self-government encouraged. But in Ecuador this feature was not introduced. The *curas* continued to appoint the *alcaldes*; secular election of Indian officers was never introduced. Under the the parochial system Indian officials were and are factors of control by the Church.

From the beginning the Church realized that Indian assistants were important to its control. It not only established and encouraged the *mayordomía* or *prioste* system for the cult of the saints; it also trained Indians as church musicians or chanters, as lay readers or prayer-makers. In Mexico the *musicos*—*chirimía*¹⁶ drummer and flutist and the brass band¹⁷—the *cantores*, and the *rezadores* carry on the folk religion in vital ways. Their functions are paralleled in Ecuador by the players of panpipes (Sp.-Q. *ronador*), flute, whistle (*pingullo*), and drum at the saint's day celebrations;¹⁸ by the violinist or harpist and *rezador* who figures in child funeral or marriage; and by the *maestro*, the *maytro* who officiates at wakes and burials, at chapel services, and wherever outside the parochial churches prayer is desired or *la doctrina* is to be taught.

During my visit at Peguche Rosita Lema and José Ruis entertained a *maestro de capilla* who was born at Riobamba, capital of the southern province of Chimborazo, but who had been living a long time in Ibarra. Orgenio Huamáng, *maytro tayito*, or Tayito Orgenio, as Rosita called him (see Pl. XXI), slept in the house and was fed without charge. In return he proffered prayers and benedictions, and his presence, I surmise, brought some prestige to the family. He would sit by the hour in one corner of the corridor copying prayers and *la doctrina* on loose sheets which he would make up into little folios—a medieval-like scribe. He sat on a mat, using a box for a desk, and alongside was the little orange-painted chest in which he kept his writ-

¹⁴ Stirling, p. 33.

¹⁵ Vasquez, p. 98.

¹⁶ This term is unfamiliar at Peguche. *Cajiro* (*cajero*), "drummer," and *pifanero* (*pifano*) "fifer," are given as both Spanish and Quechua terms.

¹⁷ In Indian Ecuador *la banda*, which is made up of White players, is paid directly by those responsible for the celebration; it has no official connection with church or village and renders no communal service.

¹⁸ Saenz, pp. 78-81.

ing materials, his breviary and rosary. He was intent on his work, but now and again he would join in our conversation, in Quechua or in Spanish which was none too easy to understand. Tayito Orgenio's relations with the household were easy and pleasant, but they showed him no particular respect. Once, as we were talking about hats, Lucila grabbed his hat off his head to show it to me, a white felt, Cholo-made. That was a great joke to the children, and the *maytro*, too, thought it was funny. Little Alberto would rough-house with him, one day even teasing him with a strap as he sat before the hearth.

Maestro Huamáng was in demand not only in Peguche but in other Indian settlements, and he would be gone on visits elsewhere for three or four days, sometimes returning somewhat the worse for wear, disheveled and a little drunk. I think he sold his copybooks on these trips, besides officiating as a prayer-maker at wakes during Easter at a *capilla* on the west side of the valley and at several saint's day celebrations. At other times he told the rosary in people's houses or in the chapel, where he would be paid two reales by everyone present. The house services are an innovation encouraged by the Bishop. Returning from one trip, Huamáng reported that he had been godfather to a saint. When a saint's picture is installed in a house, baptismal ritual is performed and a godfather is needed.¹⁹ "They give the saint a name." They eat and drink, just as in infant baptism.²⁰

Maestro Huamáng enjoyed traveling. He told me he wanted "to go all over the world, *hasta doce tierras*, as far as twelve countries." When news came that the Bishop of Ibarra was gravely sick, Huamáng returned to Ibarra for two or three days. He considered himself close to the Bishop as his representative. Formerly, if not now, the *maestros de capilla* were indeed ecclesiastical representatives or proxies.²¹ The hacienda peons, the

¹⁹ Among Arizona Yaqui, godparents are assigned to images. Those in charge of the Holy Cross *fiesta* (May 3) are called the *padrino* and *madrina* of the Santa Cruz (Spicer, pp. 110-11).

²⁰ Was this ever an acculturative mechanism for transforming Indian spirit into Christian saint? In Guatemala and Mexico we find analogous suggestions in shaman godfathers (Parsons 2:524, n. 99).

²¹ As elsewhere, among Zapotec or among Yaqui. The ritual functions of the Arizona Yaqui *maestro* are notable. Without reference to book he must be able to recite the Ave Maria, the Credo, the Pater Noster, the Sign of the Cross, the Litany of the Blessed Virgin, the Salve and Confiteor; these may be recited in either Spanish or Yaqui. The *maestro* must know the Catholic Mass for the Dead in Latin and the various *resposos* for the dead (also in Latin). He must know the standard form of the five Yaqui prayers for the closing of a service. He must be able to chant in the Gregorian style various chants in Latin or in Spanish. He must know Spanish sufficiently well to read certain ritual from a book, for example, the *oraciones* at the Stations of the Cross. In addition, he must be sufficiently ready of tongue to give a sermon in Yaqui at the end of a ceremony, which is improvised but which contains certain conventional ideas. All this must be accompanied by a knowledge of the regular order of ritual at death ceremonies, at saints' days, and at other celebrations of the fixed calendar. With these tools a *maestro* can conduct any of the ceremonies in Pascua. All the texts for Yaqui rituals as well as biblical myths are in the longhand notebooks which the *maestro* keeps as personal property (Spicer, pp. 118-20, 242-43).

youths or the younger married men with their wives, were required to visit the hacienda two mornings a week at four o'clock to listen to *la doctrina* taught by an Indian *maestro*. They paid for this by working on the hacienda. The nonco-operative were subject to whipping by the *maestro* or the *alcalde de la doctrina*.²² This system of religious instruction is a survival of the obligation of the *encomendero* to Christianize his Indians.

SUPERNATURALS

God, Dios (Q. *achi*), is referred to as Yus,²³ *taíta Yus*, or as Nuestro Señor, "Our Lord." Jesus, too, is Nuestro Señor, Nuestro Señor Jesucristo; also Verdadero Hombre Verdadero Dios, Salvador del Mundo, Criador del Cielo y de la Tierra, Redentor Jesús, Glorificador, Amorisísimo, Dulcisísimo, Justicia divina, San Salvador. The last epithet the *maestro* forgot—"there should be twelve epithets." "God is great, God is helpful, helpful in all ways" (*Dios tamañana, Dios ayudacho, tuquita ayudacho*).

The saints (Q. *santukuna*), as advocates with God, are to be prayed to devoutly:

santukuna	tyangmi	manyangapa	tuqui	chunggua
los santos	ahi	para pedirle	con toda	devoción
the saints		ask them	with all	devotion

The Sacred Heart, the Heart of Jesus, Corazon de Jesús, and San Judas Tadeo are miraculous in sickness (*milagroso*²⁴ *por enfermedad*). The invalid takes a candle to the church. (Godparents of the candle are unfamiliar.)²⁵ San Francisco is prayed to against thunder²⁶ and at planting, and San Marcos, in behalf of the stock. La Virgen may be asked to give a child, and San Antonio to reveal lost articles. (San Emilio might be addressed in earthquake,²⁷ said the *maestro* from Chimborazo Province. In Peguche no saint is associated with earthquake; there is little or no fear of earthquake. The

²² Saenz, p. 95, citing an account dated 1887, but in certain parts of the country this hacienda system is still in force (Saenz, pp. 112-13). Cf. the whip that hung in Pueblo churches to be used by the Indian fiscal against nonattendants (Parsons 3:150, 475-76). The fiscal also assembled the children to be taught *la doctrina*. Inferably, the Pueblo fiscal is to be identified with the *alcalde de la doctrina*.

²³ *Dios* is similarly pronounced by other Spanish Indians, by Zapotec and by Pueblos. Jibaro on the Upano say *Yusa* (Karsten 4:371).

²⁴ This epithet for the saints, so common in Mexico, is rarely if ever used in Ecuador.

²⁵ Parsons 2:69.

²⁶ See p. 153. Curiously enough, the Quechua term for thunder or lightning, *yllapa*, is forgotten; only the Spanish term for lightning, *el rayo*, is used. *Yllapa* referred to lightning, thunder, and thunderbolts (Garcilasso, I, 275). The Zapotec also use a single term in Zapotec or Spanish for all these phenomena. Thunder-Lightning was an outstanding Inca supernatural sending hail (Molina, pp. 13, 20); see also Ondegardo, p. 155.

²⁷ Jibaro believe that earthquakes are caused by powerful demons within the earth shaking themselves (Karsten 4:382). Cf. Zapotec (Parsons 2:206, n. 29).

PLATE XXII



PICTURE OF HELL AS DEPICTED IN THE CHURCH OF LA COMPAÑÍA IN QUITO

PLATE XXIII



Photograph by Bodo Wack

FLUTISTS. SAN JUAN DAY, OTAVALO, JUNE, 1940

great earthquake of 1868 seems to be almost forgotten—"It occurred, they say, because it was the end of the century"—and since then there has been no memorable quake.)

Like the saints, *las almas*, the Souls, may be prayed to for blessings; "they will receive prayer for a new house²⁸ or whatever you want," but the Souls are also prayed for, since they live in Purgatory, *almas de Purgatorio* who burn like those in Inferno, but less so. Robbers and murderers go to Inferno. José Antonio Maldonado of Cayambe writes: "We are very sure that there is Heaven and Hell where the Souls enjoy pleasure or suffer bitterly for the sins acquired for the world."

Although food offerings are made in church at the altar of the Souls and food for the deceased is set out at the wake²⁹ and placed in the coffin, Rosita was positive that "the Souls cannot eat"; they take only the essence of the food.³⁰ The idea that the dead might be living in the same way as they lived before in this world seemed quite unfamiliar. "Some Mexicans believe the Souls live in a pueblo," I remarked. "Without work?" queried Rosita significantly.³¹ On the altar of the Souls there is no image; instead there is a wall fresco or an oil painting of the afterworld—Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven.

These pictures in all the Ecuadorian churches I have visited are peculiarly vivid and unmistakably impressive, as are such pictures in Spain. Let me describe a masterpiece of Hell in the Church of La Compañía in Quito (Pl. XXII), the famous Jesuit church gilded, it is said, in Inca gold. The picture is a "faithful copy" made in 1879 of one painted in 1620 by "el H. Hernando de la Cruz director de la B. Mariana de Jesús" and represents all the sinners, well labeled, and all the tortures appropriate for them that the painter could think of: *impuro*, with water from a tap running over his head and a vicious black beast³² devouring his entrails; two females, *vana* and *adultera*, also preyed upon by an animal; *murmurador* (backbiter), whose protruding tongue is being bitten by a serpent; *vengativo*, pierced by a knife; *cruel*, strangled by a devil; *impenitentes*, four figures being racked on a wheel; *injustos*, one of whom wears a crown, in a fiery caldron; *usereno*, his head bitten by a devil; *homicidas*, with knives through forehead; *deli-*

²⁸ Cf. Guatemala (Bunzel, p. 364). For use of land *thought of as belonging to the deceased ancestors* candles and other offerings are paid to the dead. Cf. the miniature houses made in the hills by Yalalag pilgrims in Oaxaca (Parsons 2:379).

²⁹ See p. 77.

³⁰ For Andean Ecuador at large see Karsten 3:379, n. 2; for Inca Peru, Molina, p. 36; for Pueblos, Parsons 3:302.

³¹ The Peruvians believed that the future life was "corporeal like this one." In the upper world there was freedom from toil, no bodily labor (Garcilasso, I, 127). Among Jibaro and Canelos Indians there is no special resting-place for disembodied souls (Karsten 4:454).

³² Among Jibaro, missionaries say that the demons, of whom many are animals, torture the dead for their sins on Sangay Volcano (Karsten 4:382). See below.

ciosa, her head buried in her arms; *rotador*, chained by ankles; *boracho*, drunkard planked with spikes through body and a devil pouring liquor from a jar into his mouth; *ladron*, robber, his body entwined with snakes; three *hechiceras* (*sic*) who are *males*, their backs turned and walking calmly away. Others who are untortured or whose torture I overlooked are *registrador*, *deshonesto* (lewd), *tahur* (gambler), hardhearted (*de duro corazón*), *nefando* (base), *sacrilegos*, *traidor*, *perezoso* (lazy).

I was not the only fascinated observer of this picture of the penalties of sin or crime. An Indian was showing it to his young wife, who carried their child on her back. The man motioned³³ to figure after figure, but a large male figure with an animal crouched on his shoulder held attention longest. The Indian put his hand to his heart, obviously describing the dire thing the animal was going to do to the sinner's heart. After fifteen minutes or so the couple took a look at the picture of judgment day on the opposite wall, dipped for holy water into the basin which was dry, and, without visiting the altars or looking at anything else, departed. They had come in just to see those two pictures of life after death.

Again and again I saw similar little scenes before similar pictures in the Church of San Francisco in Otavalo.³⁴ Above the altar of the Souls is a charming picture of a compartmental hereafter: the sinners below—a bishop, a king, a fair lady—in flames, in chains or thorny creepers, on the rack; a prison-like purgatory, and above it a bridge, a mere thread, from which bodies are falling down or floating upward. Below the bridge but seemingly unrelated to it is a sweet, little, blue-water pool with figures standing in it. Cherub messengers are flying toward the clouds where God and the saints are seated. This picture and comparatively recent bedside frescoes of "Good Death" and "Bad Death" focus the attention of the Indians. Near the bed of the man dying a good death stand Jesus and an angel ready to accompany the moribund to Heaven; a frustrated devil is turning away. The counterpart moribund is gazing upon the picture of a lovely lady, and devils stand at his head and feet equipped with chains and brambles and fire. It is not surprising that the family of a moribund should wish him to be anointed with the holy oils "as a viatic and protection against all the toils of the enemy."³⁵

Spanish devil, *diablo*, *demonio*, was identified by the *maestro* with *sopay*,³⁶

³³ See p. 61.

³⁴ See Bemelmans, pp. 87-89, for the placing of a like painting in Baños by Franciscans newly arrived from Quito.

³⁵ Rubruck, p. 218.

³⁶ *Supay*. "They had no other name for the devil than *supay*" (Garcilasso, I, 108; see Means, p. 433). Aymará use the same term for an evil spirit that sends hail (Bandelier, p. 93). In early Quito "all their sacrifices and offerings were made to the Devil (*Demonio*) whom they call *Zupay*" (Quito, 1573, p. 93). Jibaro and Canelos Indians consider various animals or birds

a generic Quechua term for evil spirit. The *maestro* also referred to the devil as *enemigo*, *maligno*, *atención*, *satanás*, and in Quechua *shushubiko*, a term not known to Rosita. When I asked the *maestro* for a story about "Diablo," he told the story about the man who did not go to confession or to Mass and was led by Diablo to a precipice where he fell down and was killed.³⁷ By the *padre's* order he was dragged to the cemetery by a cord around his neck, "like a dog, because he was not a Christian."³⁸ The same treatment was ordered for a woman who lay with the devil incarnated as a cat. Devils can make way with a witch or fornicator, "body and soul,"³⁹ or as a black cat take possession of a person, living or dead.⁴⁰

The spirits of the unbaptized dead, we recall, are termed *auka* or *alma santa*⁴¹ and become dangerous night-wandering spirits.⁴² (In the Cayambe Valley it is believed that if a baby's swaddling cloths are exposed toward evening to the gaze of an unbaptized infant [*huakaisiki* or *guagua kuko*], this baby spirit will take possession of the baby and keep it crying.)⁴³ *Alma santa* are abroad in moonlit nights. They are eighteen feet tall.⁴⁴ If you encounter one, you sicken; "bad air" afflicts you.⁴⁵ There are other night

to be *supay*. Consider the incident of the Indian lady in Cuzco who, being insulted by a talking parrot, spat at it and called it *supay* (Garcilasso, II, 397).

³⁷ A story about the origin of devils, a version of the orthodox story, comes from Cayambe. Many years ago, when Jesús lived in the world, there was a war between two opposing armies—the Angels, who became soldiers in favor of Jesús, and the other group in favor of an Angel who wanted to be like Jesús, Satanás or the *Diablo Mayor*, the war chief. In this war between the good Angels and the bad Angels sometimes Satanás won, other times the army of Señor Jesucristo, and in the end the army of Jesús won the war. Having lost the war, all the enemy Angels and the *Angel Mayor* were sent to hell, sentenced to be condemned forever. So they say, all devils have wings because they were once angels. They say that since that war devils exist; if there had not been this quarrel (*contrariedad*) between the angels, there would have been neither devils nor hell. This is a belief not only of the Indians but even of the *mestizo* race.

³⁸ See pp. 135, 143.

³⁹ See pp. 143–44. Possibly there is some connection here with the Jibaro belief that the death demon remains in the body and tries to lay hold of the soul which is then identified with the demon that caused death (Karsten 4:395).

⁴⁰ See pp. 142–43. This creature is not the witch familiar of Europe but the black jaguar or one of the tiger cats of Peru or the Oriente. In the opinion of all the Forest peoples of Ecuador the spirit or demon cat may be the incarnation of a sorcerer, living or dead (Karsten 4:374–75; 3:270–71). Cf. Zapotec dream about black cat (Parsons 2:321).

⁴¹ In San Pablo Cholo opinion they go to the Limbo de Adán.

⁴² Among the Isletan Pueblos the stillborn or infants dying before baptism are put away under a cairn on a hillside and become Indian rain-making spirits.

⁴³ Another account adds that a crybaby may have himself seen the *huakaisiki* (*diablito llorón*, "little crying devil"). The remedy is to smoke the infant in a smoke from river refuse and a grass called *huakaisiki* and then to wrap up the infant and put him for a while among the guinea pigs. After this he will "forget to cry." See Appendix, p. 204.

⁴⁴ See p. 44.

⁴⁵ In early Peru a patient might be told that he was afflicted because the dead were starving (Molina, p. 64), i.e., he had neglected to make food offerings.

spirits merely called *diablos* whom it is fatal to meet.⁴⁶ A Peguche woman married into Quinchuquí reported to us one day the sudden death of a Quinchuquí man. He had gone outside to urinate the night before he died and had met a *diablo*. "There is no cure when you meet a *diabolo*; you die." The crazy widow, *luca (loca) viuda*, reported by the *maestro* from Riobamba, also wanders by night, but she does no harm. She is six and a half feet tall. The headless rider reported from Cayambe as a *duende*⁴⁷ seems to be from Spanish lore, although we may note, perhaps as a sort of convergence, that the beheaded enemy warrior is a most powerful spirit in Jibaro belief.

Another Cayambe *duende* carries a drunken woman away across country and would have possessed her "body and soul" in his cave had not the cock crowed and aroused her. As it was, she fell sick and ever since has been sick.⁴⁸ Her experience of hallucination in drunken torpor is extraordinarily like that of the narcotized Jibaro. A Cayambe who is not drunk experiences similar hallucinations, one of them being the sight of a deer, an animal deemed supernatural in the lowlands and formerly in the highlands.

We may infer from a familiar and widespread folk tale about the Chipicha that anciently a cannibal old woman was believed in. She had two mouths; talking to you with the one in front, she would eat human flesh with the one behind at the neck hidden in her hair. After this terrible monster was burned to death, her ashes called out that she would take vengeance; and, when the simpleton carrying the box of ashes disobeyed and opened the box, the ashes flew out, to become briars and insect pests. Chipicha, I incline to think, is related, historically, with the two-faced clown mask that is indubitably Indian,⁴⁹ but no identification is made by the Indians.

At Peguche Sun and Moon are personified implicitly in terms of reference—Father Sun and Mother Moon, the Peruvian terms, and the sun is thought of as anthropomorphic, a man⁵⁰ who goes down into the western sea into which all the waters run and sucks them up.⁵¹ But there are no

⁴⁶ In Cañar a mountain dwarf, Urkuyaya, mountain father, kills mountain trespassers by night (Rivet, pp. 91-92). Probably the Spanish term *duende* was used by Rivet's informant, but he should have translated it not as "dwarf" but as "spirit." See below.

Jibaro spirits move around by night (Karsten 4:384).

In early Peru "it was unsafe to go out at night," for *hapiñuñu achacalla* might carry you off. They carried off men, women, and children, but their name suggests special danger to women: *hapiñuñu* means "seize-woman's-breast," *achacalla* is an exclamation of admiration (Salcamayhua, p. 68).

⁴⁷ See Appendix, p. 206.

⁴⁸ See pp. 135-36.

⁴⁹ See pp. 132-34.

⁵⁰ Among Jibaro, sun, moon, and stars are thought of as having once been men, but there is no cult (Karsten 4:381). People are indifferent to the stars, naming only Venus (*ibid.* 504). There is a like indifference at Peguche.

⁵¹ Cf. Garcilasso, I, 184. "When the sun set, seeing it sink into the sea . . . they said that on entering, by its fire and heat, it dried up a great portion of the water of the sea, and, like a

tales about Sun or Moon, no lore about eclipse (Q. *amsaiyan*); and, with one exception, I found no further evidence that they are envisaged as supernatural. The exception I observed in Otavalo. From my balcony I saw an Indian crossing the street look up into the sky to see where the sun was. It was toward noon, and the sky was somewhat overcast. He looked up again and then crossed himself *twice*.⁵² There was no mistaking his behavior; but, when I asked about it in Peguche, José and Rosita insisted that only drunks did this, that making the sign of the cross at noon was not done at Peguche.⁵³ The man I saw was not drunk.

At Cayambe the Sun is thought of as the husband of the Moon. At full moon women say to their children, "*Achili Mamita*, Holy Mother, has come out," and "they make them adore her, principally in drought when the women gather all the children together and, looking at the moon, they cry, '*Achili Mamita*, send me a little shower!'—The sun they call *Achili Taitico*, Holy Father." A very interesting instance of religious survival among the women.

About the stars (*luceros*) there is no lore except from Cayambe, the European belief that it is bad to count them. If a child says he is going to count the stars, his *papá* will rejoin: "*Hijito*, little son, it is not good to count, because when we die, *Taita Diosito*, they say, gives one a quintal of sand to count in punishment for having counted the stars." It is a mystery of God, and none may dare trifle with the law of God (José Antonio Maldonado).

The rainbow (*cuichi*),⁵⁴ as we have noted,⁵⁵ is clearly thought of as a supernatural⁵⁶ who may frequent boulders and who sends sickness, a re-

swimmer, made a great dive under the earth, to rise next day in the east." In our Southwest Sun visits nightly White Shell Woman in her ocean house.

⁵² Cf. Mishkin, p. 236, for contemporary Peruvian practice. "Every morning as the first rays of dawn appear, the men stand outside their houses bowing their heads with hat in hand reciting the following: *Ave María purísima, Inti Huayna Ccapac, sumacllata chisiyaicuchihuai, ama ima llaquihuan, sumacllata michicuhuaicu*, Most Holy Virgin Mary, Sun Huayna Ccapac, young, powerful, permit me to pass a good day, without trouble. Teach us with kindness."

⁵³ At Isleta, New Mexico, a prayer to Sun is said at noon, for at that moment Sun stands and descends to his children much as in Peruvian ceremony Sun descended to sit on his column.

⁵⁴ The etymology is obscure. Although Garcilasso calls the rainbow *cuichi* (*cuchi*, Salcamayhua, p. 75, also *turumanya* and *yayacarui*), the word is not Quechua (not in Middendorf). Aymará for rainbow is *kurmi*. At Lake Titicaca Rainbow is considered to be a supernatural; and children are forbidden to gaze at a rainbow (Bandelier, *Islands of Titicaca and Koati*, p. 100, Part III, n. 98; p. 150; p. 96 cited by Karsten 3:330).

There is some similarity with the call for swine (see p. 146). Were swine identified with Rainbow (see below) because of this vocal similarity?

Among Tapirape of central Brazil wild pig is a "pet" of Thunder, who in anger sends a shower followed by Rainbow after pigs have been hunted and killed. When Tapirape see a rainbow, they say, "The shaman has been successful (in finding pigs) against Thunder" (Wagley 1:259, n. 23).

⁵⁵ See p. 66.

⁵⁶ At Cuzco the fourth hall in the great "house of the Sun" was dedicated to Rainbow. "They had ascertained that it [Rainbow] proceeded from the Sun; and the Kings Yncas there-

cipient of offerings, a malevolent being except as he may be associated with rain and even so not necessarily benevolent, since rain may damage crops as well as favor them. Naturally, a rainbow is thought of rather as a cause of rain than as a consequence of rain. (*Támia*⁵⁷ *huakan*, "the storm clouds weep," is the ordinary term for raining; but about the clouds there is no lore.) But Rainbow is associated far less with rain than with the pig; Rainbow is identified with the pig, "*es una forma de puerco*"⁵⁸—a conspicuous case of the intimacy, if not metempsychosis, between cosmic and animal spirits that is marked in South America.

The mountains⁵⁹ and hills are personified in reference⁶⁰ and in tales.⁶¹ They are male and female.⁶² Imbabura is *hari urku*, "man mountain," and Cotacachi, *huarmi urku*, "woman mountain," and Imbabura courts Cotacachi. The Mountains play ball. The Mountains are endowed by their father, whoever he may be, and they inherit *according to their virtue*, as was customary in parts of Peru.⁶³ The spirit of Black Mountain is thought of as

fore adopted it for their device and blazon, as descendants of the Sun. This hall was all covered with gold. On one side of it, on the plates of gold, a rainbow was very naturally painted, of such a size that it reached from one wall to the other, and with all its colours exact" (Garcilasso, I, 276). To the founder of Inca lineages the rainbow was "a good sign," and Rainbow strengthened him (Salcamayhua, pp. 74, 75).

⁵⁷ Heavy storm clouds, Sp. *aguacero*; other clouds, *puyo*.

⁵⁸ See Appendix, p. 198. At Pelileo, in the mountains of central Ecuador, Karsten was told of a woman who had given birth to a monster, half hairy pig, half human. The woman was said to have exposed herself while menstruous to the rainbow (Karsten 1:70). Among Quechua-speaking highlanders, Canelos Indians, and Indians of the Napo and Jibaro the rainbow (Jibaro, *tundyaka*) is a huge water boar (Q. *amárun*; Jibaro, *pangi* or *cuichi*), and it may impregnate a menstruant. The rainbow serpent also embodies the soul of a deceased sorcerer (Karsten 4:392). Cf. Cayambe belief (Appen., p. 198) that Rainbow may live in whirlpools. In Jibaro origin myth the Water Serpent lashes his tail and creates the rainbow (Stirling, p. 129). See p. 215 for Cayambe tale about Rainbow produced from the blood of an adulterous spirit, inferably a water spirit, who has seduced a peon's wife.

⁵⁹ Mountains were sacred in Incaic Peru, but the concept is left vague (Garcilasso, I, 47, 232). For personification in contemporary Peru see Mishkin, pp. 236-37. Among Jibaro and Canelos, mountains and hills are the dwelling-places of dead sorcerers, especially snow mountains, *razu urku supai* (Karsten 4:382, 391). Belief in mountain spirits is widespread in highland America, in our Southwest, in Mexico, and in Guatemala.

⁶⁰ Cayambe. Formerly when novices (*los nuevos*) went for the first time to a certain mountain—here, Mount Sayaro—the mountain became angry (*huashi*), and it rained, with high winds and hail. To preclude this, the novice had to bathe in spring or near-by river. (Reported by Segundo Félix Maldonado.) Eating a lunch on the *páramo* brings an *aguacero* (Gorrell, citing José Ruis of Peguche). No Jibaro will speak while crossing the summit of Cuticu because the rain spirit dwelling there likes solitude and silence and, if offended, will send down heavy rains and flood the streams (Stirling, p. 116).

⁶¹ See pp. 128-29.

⁶² Throughout Ecuador mountains are personified with sex. Chimborazo is male; Tungurahua, female (Rivet, pp. 89-90).

⁶³ Garcilasso, I, 312.

a little fellow, a dwarf. Father Imbabura, Tayita Imbabura, in Mexican phrase "the owner, *el dueño*, of the mountain," rides a white horse and lives in truly Inca splendor in a golden house stored with crops of all kinds.⁶⁴ In tales Imbabura is associated with a cat demon⁶⁵ and with medicine.⁶⁶ As Imbabura can cure, he undoubtedly can sicken, like Cotacachi, Snow Woman,⁶⁷ or like mountains elsewhere in Ecuador.⁶⁸

The earth, *kadajata*, *jata entera*, the whole world, *tugui (toda) mundo entero*, is not personified or even referred to honorifically as *mama*, "mother."⁶⁹

Lakes are personified.⁷⁰ Lakes, streams, springs, and waterfalls are spirit haunts.⁷¹ During the *fiesta* of San Juan, a spring not far from the chapel is visited and bathed in: *el baño del santu*. Before the *fiesta* of San Pedro, perhaps before other *fiestas*, Peguche and other Indians may visit the great waterfall of Imbabura called *anga facha (pacha)*, Hawk Waterfall, to bathe in it; "it gives strength."⁷² Men who want to be strong fighters may visit this waterfall at any time, going singly or two or three together. Visitors to the waterfall make offerings of guinea pigs, food, drink, and cigarettes. They ask for strength, but they do not "pray," says Rosita, "because they love not God but the Devil [*no quieren a Dios, quieren al Diablo*]." Spirits

⁶⁴ See p. 131.

⁶⁵ See p. 145, n. 89. Cf. the black "cat" that lives today on the mountain above Kauri in the department of Cuzco and controls lightning and hail (Mishkin, p. 237); also the black beast labeled *graniso*, hail, in the altar picture of Salcamayhua-Ávila reproduced from Lehmann-Nitsche by Means (Fig. 168) which depicts the ancient Cuzco pantheon in very much the same way as modern kiva murals depict the pantheon of Isleta, New Mexico.

⁶⁶ See p. 128.

⁶⁷ See p. 128.

⁶⁸ Karsten 4:382; 3:331; also in Peru (Mishkin, p. 236).

⁶⁹ Among Jibaro, Earth Mother and her spouse, in charge of maize and bananas, are important supernaturals. There is no earth cult among Canelos (Karsten 4:379).

⁷⁰ See p. 130.

⁷¹ See pp. 129-30.

⁷² Cf. Cayambe. "In Hato we have a waterfall called Chimborazo. This waterfall is associated with spirits (*duendes*) who also accompany persons in contact with it. Such men associate with spirits with the object of being able to overcome difficulties with any other man unacquainted with this place.

"Men use this waterfall especially at the *fiesta* of San Pedro. The day of San Pedro, in the morning, they go to bathe in the waterfall, taking with them an *azate* of *mediano* and two or three litres of rum. After the bath they eat and drink, they eat it all. They go to their houses and go out to dance and to win the plaza (*ganar la plaza*). They go accompanied by the spirits (*duendes*) and with a drizzle (*páramo*) and they are very wild and furious with every one they see, this, they say, because the spirit dances in front of them and because of this they are all enraged. And the demon leaves them the plaza clean (to themselves) without being disturbed by anybody or having quarrels with anybody, as happens when two companies fight for the plaza and the first withdraws through violence" (Francisco Andrango of Juan Montalvo).

This mountain-rain spirit who dances in front of the dancer is a striking parallel to the *kachina* spirit of the Pueblo Indians, who dances behind.

live in this waterfall,⁷³ according to Rosita, who calls them *kuku* or *duendes*, "dwarfs,"⁷⁴ but describes them as a hundred feet tall.⁷⁵ "Like *auka*, they are not baptized," i.e., they are apart from the Church. "They are *kuku*."⁷⁶ They may do you good or evil.⁷⁷

How does Hawk come into the picture? Inferably, Hawk is the source of fighting power.⁷⁸ Of other birds or of animals there is some lore,⁷⁹ but, except in connection with swine and cats,⁸⁰ nothing that suggests a positively supernatural character. (In Cayambe animal supernaturalism is marked.)⁸¹ Swine and cats can take demoniacal possession of a person's body, and, as noted, swine are identified with Rainbow.

⁷³ Jibaro believe that mountain waterfalls are the haunts or abodes of spirits, and men bathe in waterfalls to facilitate intimate contact with the spirits (Karsten 4:382-83). Canelos curers and witches invoke the waterfall demon (*paccha supay*), asking him to fill them and their datura drink with power (Karsten 4:441).

⁷⁴ *Cucu* = *duende*, *fantasma* (Paris). Cf. Parsons 2:231.

⁷⁵ Ecuadorian Indians use *duende* to mean apparition or spirit, not merely a *small* spirit (see p. 90, n. 46).

⁷⁶ An Indian word, the Whites say, for the devil (*tentación*). Undoubtedly, it is the Spanish term *koko*, for bogey spirit which is familiar at Quito. In this Ecuadorian usage, by the way, is a little more evidence for the Spanish origin of the Zuni term *koko* for their kachina spirit. Note in this connection that the Penitente mask is called *cucuruchu*.

⁷⁷ This ambivalent character is like that of Jibaro supernaturals (Karsten).

⁷⁸ One of the chroniclers relates that the early Incas had a brother (*huanuqui*) or familiar who was a falcon (*indi*, *inti*) and later became identified with the sun (Means, pp. 390-91). According to current Peruvian legend, after a certain battle the Inca offered llama meat to a falcon flying overhead (Garcilasso, II, 89). Falcon is listed among the spirits of Peru (Garcilasso, I, 48). Among Canelos Indians, Hawk (*anga*) may be a spirit bird (Karsten 4:390).

⁷⁹ See pp. 212-13.

⁸⁰ See pp. 120, 142-43.

⁸¹ See pp. 204-6.

CHAPTER VI

CALENDAR

The Spanish name of the months are known more or less, but in speaking Quechua the moons or months are named from the Church feasts.¹ Peguche men are notably more familiar than are the women with the following list:

January	Jordan Kija ²	August	San Luis Kija
February	Carnaval Kija	September	"Nameless, no <i>fiesta</i> "
March	Pascua Kija	October	San Francisco Fiesta
April	"Nameless, no <i>fiesta</i> "	November	Alma Bendita Kija (also Sp. Finados; Q. Ofrendas)
May	Espíritu Kija (Cruz Fiesta)	December	Niño Pasqua Kija
June	Corpus Kija ³		
July	San Juan Kija ⁴		

In timing by this lunar calendar,⁵ the last feast celebrated will be mentioned *ya alma kija yaling (pasado)*, "past the moon (month) of the Souls."

The Spanish New Year's, *el año nuevo*, is called *mushu wata*, "new year," or *mushu bara*, "new cane," a reference to the canes which are passed on when officials take office at the new year. This formality has lapsed in Otavalo and in the White villages of the valley and is observed only by alcaldes of Indian chapels.

On New Year's Eve in Otavalo, as in Quito and elsewhere, images are burned in street or plaza. They are *los viejos*, "the old ones," *el año viejo*, "the old year."⁶

KINGS' DAY ("DÍA DE LOS REYES")

In Otavalo masks come out.

¹ Prescriptive *fiestas* today, according to *Cristiano Runapac* (see p. 113), are: New Year's, Muchuc Huawata Punzcha; Kings' Day, Reyes Punzcha; St. Joseph's Day, San José Punzcha; Assumption, Ascensión Punzcha; Corpus Cristi, Corpus Punzcha; St. Peter and St. Paul, San Pedro San Pablo Punzcha; Virgin of Tránsito, Tránsito Punzcha; All Saints, Todos Santos Punzcha; Holy Virgin, Purísima Punzcha; and Christmas, Navidad Punzcha.

² *Jordán quilla*, moon of El Señor de Jordán.

³ Corpus Cristi is a movable feast. I think the May-June reference should be Espíritu Corpus for June and Cruz Kija (May 3, Holy Cross Day) for May.

⁴ Actually, of course, the *fiesta* is celebrated at the end of June.

⁵ In Inca Peru "they counted by moons," and *monthly* feasts were observed for the sun at the new moon (Garcilasso, II, 132, 227, 234, 251).

⁶ Cf. Mexican practices (Parsons 2:232-38; Landa, p. 61). At the initiation of the youths at Cuzco faggots dressed as a man and a woman were burned in the square, together with a sheep, as "offerings" to the Creator, the Sun, and the Inca (Molina, p. 46).

"SEMANA SANTA"

Holy Week is celebrated in the valley by Indians and Whites in quite different ways: by the Otavalo townspeople quite simply with prescriptive church services, the church bells muted until they ring out for *la Gloria*, and on Sunday with feasting and dancing at home;⁷ by the Indians, elaborately with *prioste* ritual and entertainment, visits to the parish churches, chapel or house services at which a *maestro* will read prayers in return for contributions of food, and with a great communal feast in the Otavalo cemetery Thursday and Friday mornings, followed on Sunday by Mass in San Luis, the blessing of plants, and afterward in the streets the benedictions of godparents.

On Palm Sunday, Domingo de Ramos, more Indians than usual come in to Mass at the parish churches. At the ten o'clock Mass in San Francisco the bulk of the congregation are Whites, sitting or kneeling on bench or *prie-dieu*, but there are about twenty Indians who sit on the ground or kneel along the right-hand wall. They make the sign of the cross but say no prayers. Only a few put a coin into the plate that the *cura* himself passes. One woman kisses the priest's hand. The women carry tasseled corn tops and a sprig of rosemary in the corn leaves, which they shake whenever the bell is rung during the elevation of Host⁸ or Chalice. The images, of course, are covered, but the edge of a garment shows under one concealed group, and several Indians touch this as they come or go and then bring the hand to the mouth. A Cholo kisses the foot of the big cross. A few Cholos carry palm leaves twisted into knots or cups.

The important occasion for a large number of Indians is the eleven o'clock Mass at San Luis. The long benchless nave is packed with men, women, and children carrying tasseled corn or palm leaves to which miniature palm-leaf basket, mat, or cross-and-mat are fastened. Some women have a bunch in each hand, and all keep their plants ashaking as they kneel. When the bell rings, a great murmur is heard as of wind in palms. Greens astir over *rebozos*, scarlet, blue, or white, over black and white skirts, over ponchos, blue or red; it is a pretty show! Many, as they leave the church, kiss the foot of the great green cross set into the wall near the portal.

The morning of Holy Thursday the street to the cemetery is choked at an early hour with Indians, all the women carrying small packs. In front of the Cholo stores stands are set to display the bread rolls the Indians buy. The little orange or magenta grave crosses are conspicuously set out for

⁷ *Compadres* and *padrinos* are invited; round dances to the guitar; some immoderate drinking. The only tipsy White man I saw in Otavalo had been on this Easter spree.

⁸ There are three preliminary rings, three rings when the Host (the Body) is elevated, and three rings when the Chalice (the Blood) is elevated. In our North, Catholics were instructed formerly to hold in their hands the palms that altar boys distribute before the Mass. The palms are sprinkled with holy water privately by the priest.

sale. As one passes with the stream of Indian men, women, and children up the lane and through the large stone portal, what a sight in the slope-set cemetery! A mass of figures in blue or red ponchos, in white or crimson backcloths or headcloths passing in and out between the tall eucalyptus trees, the cedars, and the little peach trees or sitting in small groups around or on the uninclosed grave mounds, of which many are planted to geraniums. At the foot of the central cross lies a tiny white coffin.

What is all the stir and buzz about? Here are two women sitting close together with a carrying cloth on the lap of one, from which she puts a few potatoes into the empty gourd bowl of the other. Beyond them stands an old man with his hat off, saying a prayer to which three or four seated women are listening. A woman is surrounded by four or five forlorn beggars, sickly or aged Whites or Indians⁹ importuning her with their food bowls. She pays no attention to them. Along comes an Indian youth who greets her cheerfully and from the recesses of her bulging shirt or tightly held cloth she gives him straightway a handful of toasted corn which he wraps up in a fold of his poncho. These groups and all the others are constantly recombining, while people eat, beg, pray, or chat in low Indian tones; no liquor, no dispute; even the beggars are less importunate by voice than by gesture, thrusting forward their gourds and crowding in upon likely donors. Of these it is said: *se dan caridad*, "they are bestowing charity." Beggars apart, the interchange of food is between relatives and *compadres*. Deceased relatives are mentioned in the prayers said by the women themselves if they know how to pray or by elderly men who move around from group to group and are bidden to pray. A woman may ask for a prayer for a particular relative or for a sort of omnibus prayer for all the dead in her family when the prayer-maker removes his hat and recites what sounds for all the world like an ethnographic list of kinship terms.¹⁰

By noon the cemetery has emptied, most of the women still carrying full or half-full cloths and the beggars well supplied. Friday morning everything is repeated, except that on departure the carrying cloths of the givers of charity are all empty. This day, too, as it happens, there are more burials. If anybody dies during Holy Week, it is customary to curtail or even omit the wake, if necessary, that the burial may take place during the general visitation of the cemetery. Several coffins of adults were placed in turn at the foot of the central cross. There were two, side by side, when I arrived, each with its circle or half-circle of women mourners. I saw one woman untie

⁹ Many more Cholos than Indians. In Otavalo begging is not confined to Holy Week, but no Indians beg. Garcilasso writes that up to the time he left Peru in 1560 he never saw an Indian, man or woman, begging (II, 28). On the other hand, Inca law provided that at the public feasts thrice a month all the poor (blind, lame, aged, and infirm) should be invited (*ibid.*, p. 34).

¹⁰ See pp. 164-65.

a little knotted cloth close to the right shoulder of the corpse and put something into it—perhaps a little more food.

To or from the cemetery during these two days the Indians drift into the churches, a few attend the services, sitting as usual on the floor alongside the walls, but most go in merely to kiss the foot of the big green cross affixed to the wall near the portal of San Luis or, in San Francisco, the bloody feet of the crucified Jesus who lies on crimson velvet cushions between images of his Mother and of Nicodemus. This group is one of *los monumentos*, as the Whites of Otavalo refer to the images and scenes shown these days in the churches. Over the high altar of San Francisco there is a drop curtain showing Jesus and the disciples outside Jerusalem, with a foreground of tall white candles set between vases of white flowers. The figures are lit up theatrically by electric lights. San Francisco is modernizing, borrowing from the contemporary stage in order to counter the law against religious dramatization or procession outdoors. Friday evening at Jordán the Descent from the Cross is performed dramatically at the tree-embowered high altar. The whole of white Otavalo seems to be packed into the church, and there are busses full of people from other parts of the valley. There are no Indians.

Formerly at San Luis at the twelve o'clock Mass of Good Friday masked figures were present, called *cucuruchu*.¹¹ They carried whips and whipped Our Lord.¹²

Saturday morning early the Indians are back in Otavalo for the Saturday market, the biggest Saturday market of the year. After the market there is the usual drinking at the *chicherias*, and, as usual, the afternoon road to Peguche is full of drunken men tended by their more or less sober women.

As on Palm Sunday, the eleven o'clock Mass in San Luis on Easter Sunday is appropriated by Indians, and again women bring palms and corn tassels to shake, but this time there are only a few women. The *cura* passes the plate and many contribute. I notice a woman taking a coin from under her bracelet and passing it to the man behind to put into the glass plate. *Indias* hold the purse!

The charming Otavalo plaza is not much used as a rule by Indians, but today the benches opposite the church are filled. I sit down next an old man, from Río Blanco he tells me, *pointing his lips* toward the west. A youth comes up and kneels in front of the old man. The youth mumbles in

¹¹ The etymology is obscure, but *cucu* is inferably the Spanish term for bogey, *coco* (see p. 94). *Cucuruchu* are to be identified, I surmise, with the Fariseo masks of northwestern Mexico. Elsewhere in Mexico the Pharisees or Jews (Judeos) appear in mask or are burned in effigy. (The Fariseo masks are burned by the Yaqui Indians.) Judeos were bad people, *mala gente*. (The *cura* of San Rafael refers to them today as "bad people in international affairs.") The unbaptized Indians were also bad people, and their spirits were devils. So Jews and non-Christian Indians were readily identified—and the masked *diablo* of Holy Week or of other Church celebrations is the product.

¹² See Appendix, p. 211.

Quechua, and the old man answers, making the sign of the cross with outstretched palm. The youth, still kneeling, takes the old man's hand and kisses it. This is the *bendición de Jesucristo de Pascua* given by godparents of baptism or of marriage. Everywhere around us, on the church terrace, on paved sidewalks, on cobbled streets, the blessing is being given and received. Men kneel to women, women to men, but always juniors to seniors. Some elderly men are surrounded by quite a little group awaiting turn.

According to Rosita, the godparent says:

Nyuka pobri mana kunicho pai Dios miko gracias bendisiunta hiyakuja
 Yo pobre no le duve page le da bendición hijada
 mushu paskwa kaimantami kustumbrita charishkauchi
 nueva pascua por (ha)cer costumbre tenimos

I, poor one, may not give you [anything]. God will pay. He bestows thanks and blessings, goddaughter. To make Easter anew we have the custom.

The goddaughter says:

Bendisiunta karawi achitaita paskwa puncha tugarishkanchi Dios se lo
 bendición de mi padrino pascua día nos encontrado Dios se lo
 pay achitaita
 pague padrino

[For the] benediction of my godfather Easter day we met. God alone will pay you, godfather.

Beyond on the west side of town the *chicherias* are open and filled. *Buda* is being distributed in bowls or gourds; and from a hogshead (*balde grande*) a Chola sells large bowls or gourds of *chicha*. A man buys a gourdful, and then from the small gourd floating on top he gives drinks to his own little circle of relatives or *compadres*. In one place an old man is playing feebly on a violin.

In the broad street leading from the market, family groups are gathered in meal circles around a cloth spread on the ground for the food which each helps himself to and in the usual way puts into his own food gourd.


"PRIOSTE DE PASCUA"

But at the *cantina* on the Peguche road there were women as well as men, far from sober. It was an Easter *prioste* party from Carabuela, about four miles north of Otavalo. The afternoon before they had met *la banda* at the *cantina* and had gone on into Otavalo for *las visperas*, the vespers service. They went home for the night and in the morning returned to Otavalo to pay their Mass. Now they were on their way home and had stopped to drink rum at Capello's and to dance. Capello expected the party; a day or two before I had seen him preparing *buda*, grinding maize on his coffee-grinder. When I joined the party Saturday afternoon, Capello was ladling out the *buda* from a large caldron to fifteen men or more. I sat down in the corridor

with *la banda*, five or six Cholos. The drummer, an Indian of the *prioste* party, walked up and down the road, in front of the burro shed, playing his two-headed laced drum with two drumsticks. Then the brass pieces struck up. A dozen older men and women formed a circle, holding hands or grasping somebody's neck and moving antisunwise, but they were all so drunk, lurching about or tumbling down, that the circle barely held. A young woman with a baby on her back luckily kept her feet. The band leader called the dance. Another piece, and two or three women danced in a line, holding or trying to hold hands or two youths danced side by side, close up to the musicians. All these staggering dancers bumped or mauled one another with an astounding lack of that inhibition of physical contact characteristic of Indians elsewhere and of Andean Indians, too, when sober. However, even the old woman who grabbed an old man by the neck did it in an impersonal maudlin way.

One young man, the *prioste* or *capitán* himself I think, was excited but not impersonal. He stepped or capered lightly and rhythmically in enjoyment of the dance itself—such dancing I never saw again in the valley. He was paying the musicians, getting the money from an older woman, inferably his mother, a handsome woman, and the youth also was handsome. As usual the band would repeat the dance tune several times—five or six bars of the popular air called *Yali-Mishqui* and then would have to be paid another sucre to go on. The *capitán* would dance his *pas seul* right under the nose of the flageolet player and then hold up the coin to show that he still had money for a repetition. After several repetitions the youth's mother (and father, too), in spite of being drunk, began to demur and tried to hold and quiet the youth. They succeeded only when I got up and, after shaking hands with the youth, went up the lane to Rosita's. The youth enjoyed dancing, but he also had enjoyed an audience, showing off in a way that was also uncharacteristic.

The Carabuela party brought no image with them. Another *prioste* party brought in image and *bandera*, "standard," a red flag, so probably they came from the *capilla* of San Juan, for red is the color of this saint. I did not see the party until after the Sunday noon Mass at San Luis, when the home-bound procession formed on the terrace of the church. It was led by a wom-


an carrying the standard .¹³ Then came the saint on a table-litter carried by two men. About fifteen persons followed.

The most outstanding Easter *prioste* celebration in the valley is in the village of San Miguel in San Rafael Parish, a White one-street town with Indian houses on the road below the steep hill and in the farm land to the edge

¹³ Among Mayo-Yaqui Indians women are also standard-bearers. Some explanation seems called for.

of the Lake of San Pablo. The population of the parish consists of about four hundred Whites and three thousand Indians. Unfortunately, I did not see the whole Sunday-Monday celebration, and information was meager and uncertain. The padre of San Rafael believed that the dramatization represented life at the court of Atahualpa, the last Inca ruler at Quito, but nobody else, White or Indian, expressed this idea.

The dramatic group consists of thirty-two men and lads who are referred to as *kurasas*, *capitanes*, and their attendants, *yumbos* *loas* or *pajes*, "pages."¹⁴ There are several groups of musicians, inferably a group to each *kurasa capitán*, each unit consisting of two panpipers, one flutist, and one

drummer. In one group I see a large horn . In another group a man

combines drum and panpipes; holding pipes in his left hand with a tiny drum (four inches in diameter) suspended from left thumb, he plays on the drum with a single stick in his right hand.

Sunday morning this group may have danced in the plaza below the church or they may merely have sat there—this was the usual account—while the wives of the *kurasas* danced in two lines in front of them. In the afternoon when I arrived separate groups or units consisting of *capitán de kurasa*, *yumbos*, and pages, musicians, and a few women were visiting from yard to yard and being regaled with rum and *chicha*.

The dramatic performers are dressed in baggy blue cloth trousers decorated with silver paper stars. They wear stockings and low yellow leather shoes. On the head is a gilt paper crown stuck with chicken feathers and a few peacock feathers, or a befeathered felt hat. Their faces are painted or powdered white and spotted red. One of them wears a wig of long black ringlets. Some are on foot, some on horseback.

A White girl has picked me up on the road, and she and I follow some of the performers, or shall we say "impersonators," into the yard of the *prioste* or *capitán*. Here there are two groups of Indian musicians, one on each side of the yard, and everybody is more or less drunk. A man presses upon me a gourd of *chicha*. A drunken old lady insists that I dance with her, so I take her hand, and together we step from foot to foot, in front of the panpipers, who play a bar or two of melody and repeat. Then three or four other women dance in the same way, in line, holding hands, right up in front of the musicians, just as did the Carabela dancers at the Peguche *cantina*. But here in the *prioste* house nobody is paying the Indian mu-

¹⁴ When the lad Garcilasso was sent by his Spanish father with presents of grapes grown by a conquistador to the gentlemen of Cuzco, he was aided by "two little Indian *pajes*" (II, 488). "Page," *portero*, errand boy, parental deputy, as Garcilasso himself was more than once, every traveler in the Peninsula or in Spanish America recognizes the distinctive position and ability of these boys in a Spanish community. Except on the war trail they have few if any Indian equivalents.

sicians. They are otherwise compensated, with food and drink. Here, too, there is an antisunwise circle dance of men and women.

As at Peguche, I offer cigarettes to the musicians, but here it is a mistake, for everyone begins to clamor for them and crowd in on me—again quite atypical behavior in those who always give a White person the right of way. As I work my way through the pressing, sprawling little mob toward the door (it is a walled-in yard), I wonder if I can reach it without getting mussed up unless I resort to the old trick of throwing out cigarettes to be scrambled for. No violence, just pushing like children. However, it isn't far to go and I get through, with cigarettes and clothes intact.

The next yard is more orderly. I talk with the mounted impersonator, an older man; the others are lads. He asks my name. I notice that his face is not painted and that his stirrups are of brass in the early slipper mode. Carmen and I are offered a drink, and Carmen goes into the house and is given half an ear of boiled corn which she shells into her hand to eat, the usual way of eating corn off the cob, whether boiled or toasted. Carmen is a housemaid from Quito vacationing with a friend in San Rafael.

A group of musicians and *kurasas* enter the yard, one of the women carrying a black umbrella, another a stick topped with a bunch of paper flowers, the official stick of the *kurasa capitán*. The *capitán* is given a chair and offered a gourd of *chicha*. He is an honored guest. After this formality he dances between two women in front of the musicians. He wears a yellow kerchief around his head and over it a felt hat. This is not his proper head-gear, which is too precious to be worn all the time.

Carmen and I climb the hill and sit down on the roadside, below the bleak, unlovely plaza. At once we are surrounded by a group of little boys asking us questions, teasing each other and calling names, chattering, shouting—all in vivacious Spanish—no suggestion of Indian behavior in these youngsters, nor from their looks a drop of Indian blood. Their older brothers or fathers are playing handball on the road beyond us, no Indian among them; on the other hand, Carmen and I were the only Whites at the *prioste* celebration. In pastime or pleasure how much apart they remain, Cholo and Indio! Then, as I am taking leave of my friendly and sympathetic Chola companion, a young man, *indio*, passes by and greets her, not drunkenly but gaily and frankly, a romantic figure—handsome features, sleek black braids, in spotless white cotton trousers and elegant blue poncho. Were I Carmen. . . . I doubt if the Conquistadors are wholly responsible for Indian looks among Whites, although that is the popular theory of miscegenation. The Chola White today is more exposed than the *india*.

Monday morning I find the upper town street of San Rafael astir with horsemen and horses covered rump and neck with colored cotton cloths—the *yumbos* are running their horses across the plaza or gathering in front of

a *cantina* for a drink between gallops. All the White *cantinas* are busy, for in them the impersonators are painted and fitted out. The outfits are hired out and rum is sold—here as elsewhere Indian celebration is good business for White people.

In a *cantina* corridor I find a *kurasa capitán* sitting in a chair with his musicians along the wall playing their tune. After photographing, I offer cigarettes. The musicians all start to grab for the package, but, when I give it to the *capitán*, he passes it around and each man quietly and decently takes one. (What is the history of these contrasting forms of behavior?)

The *capitán* withdraws inside to be made up, and after a few minutes the musicians follow, and I, too, am invited in. The *capitán*, his face now painted white with a red spot on each cheek, is to be "crowned" while the musicians play. The "crown" is a corporal's felt hat stuck with feathers and covered with pearl beads, colored glass stones, and gilt spangles. Hanging from it behind and in front well over the face are gilt ornaments or jewelry. White silk shirt and pants are also heavily bespangled.¹⁵

The *capitán* takes his chair, now holding his beflowered stick. He is given a drink of rum; in fact, he is plied with drinks, some of which he passes on. A *yumbo* sits on either side, and they see to the circulation of the tiny gourds or glasses or bottles of rum which an elderly Indian is paying for. A little crowd has gathered around, including some *loas* who are not more than twelve or thirteen years old. They drink too.

The same performances are going on in at least three other *cantinas*. In the one across the street the *capitán* sits out in front, and a black umbrella is held over him, although the sun is shining only through clouds. There is to be no dancing today, the padre tells me. Arraying the *kurasas* and regaling them with drink seem to be all there is to this day's celebration, except, of course, the eating and drinking in the houses of the *priostes*.

This dramatization is performed again at San Rafael on August 25, the day of San Luis Obispo, the patron saint. On this occasion the *kurasas* remain in the church all day, from 5:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M. *with nothing to eat or drink*.¹⁶ I was told of this fast in Peguche as a peculiar and striking observance.

Ritual fasting, ritual drinking,¹⁷ staff of office, and respect for office all suggest that Indian chieftaincy of a bygone period is being represented.

¹⁵ To the great Raymi ceremony at Cuzco "the Curacas came in all the splendour they could afford. Some wore dresses adorned with bezants of gold and silver, and with the same fastened as a circlet round their headdresses" (Garcilasso, II, 156).

¹⁶ A three-day fast was observed prior to Raymi (Garcilasso, II, 157).

¹⁷ In Inca Peru the "custom of inviting each other to drink was the usual mode by which superiors showed favor and complacency to inferiors, and by which one friend saluted another. . . . The Inca drank from the cup offered him by a visiting Curaca, drinking a great or a small amount, according to the degree in which he esteemed the chief who proffered him his cup" (Garcilasso, cited by Means, pp. 369, 373).

Probably *kurasa* is a form of *curaca*, the term for Incaized chiefs¹⁸ or, as today in the Oriente, for war leader. (The term also suggests the Spanish for cuirass, *coraza*, or the term *coroza*, the shame headdress.)¹⁹ The *yumbos*²⁰ who "take care of the *capitán*," although called skirmishers, *escaramuzadores*, are without warlike appearance at San Rafael, but at the Corpus Cristi celebration in the valley of Chillos²¹ near Quito the *yumbos* carry lances. The function of the young *loas* of Chillos, as of San Rafael (and of Peguche), is to speak set words or pieces, any pieces they have memorized (Chillos) or "two or three words to the Lord" (Peguche). *Loa*, "praise," refers in Spanish to a short dramatic panegyric. Are the Corpus Cristi and Easter performances of Chillos and San Rafael Ecuadorian versions of La Conquista-Matachina dances which were taught by the early friars in Mexico and New Mexico? Are they fragments of early war ceremonial such as may still be seen in the Oriente or are they reminiscent of those festival dramas of Peru in which "the actors were not common people, but Yncas and noblemen, sons of Curacas, or the Curacas themselves, down to masters of the camp"?²² Perhaps they are reminiscent of the Inca law that "three or four times a month all the inhabitants of each village should feast together, before their Curacas, and exercise themselves in military or popular games, that they might preserve constant friendship among themselves, and that the shepherds and husbandmen might have times for rejoicing and relaxation."²³ In this case the aimless equestrianism of the celebration might be accounted a military pastime.

SANTA LUCILA'S DAY AT PEGUCHE, TUESDAY, MARCH 26

Early in the afternoon I meet the *prioste* party on the road carrying the saint into Otavalo for her Mass. They have placed the canopied table-litter on the ground, and two or three men are dancing before it—the familiar formless one-step to the music of the *banda*. They stop for only a few minutes and then move on, the saint's blue mantle waving in the breeze.

On the return of the party, about an hour later, I hear the music from Rosita's house and easily overtake the little procession, which is held up

¹⁸ Officials in charge of a hundred households and upward were so called (Means, pp. 292-93). Under the Peruvian conquest the head official of San Rafael would have been called "Curaca."

¹⁹ A cone headdress of pasteboard worn as a mark of shame (dictionary). The Maya of Yucatan protested against being made by the Franciscan friars to wear the penitential *corozas* and *sambenitos* (garments) of the Inquisition (Landa, p. 118).

²⁰ A general term in Ecuador for Forest Indians, probably derived from *ayumba*, a Jibaro reference for killing an enemy. The term is so applied to the head-taking dancing described in 1682. The lance tipped with a human bone testifies to "the murder of *ayumba*" (Stirling, p. 46).

²¹ See Appendix, pp. 208-10.

²² Garcilasso, I, 194.

²³ Garcilasso, II, 33.

because the top of the canopy has caught in a telegraph wire. We cross the gully and go on by the way which is just beginning to be a street, past the schoolhouse and into the churchyard with its large cross.

The chapel door is open, but the procession does not enter it at once. First it makes a complete circuit of the chapel—antisunwise.

They place the image on the high altar, near San José with the Infant in his arms, and they light the five tall candles that were carried in procession. The *sindico* and two other men kneel apart and closest to the paper-begarlanded altar. A long prayer is said by one of the men (? *alcalde de capilla* or *maitro*). Then inside the chapel the *banda* plays.

Outside, the *banda* again plays its dance tune, but nobody dances, and the inevitable dispute about payment starts up. After it is settled, I talk with my old acquaintance, the bandmaster—it is the same band that played for the Carabuela party. He tells me they are paid sixty to seventy sures for the afternoon and for playing into the night at the *prioste's* house; for dance music they are paid extra.

A group of boys, about fifteen to seventeen years of age, Cholos and Indians, are standing on the pedestal of the cross and leaning so heavily on the cross that finally they break it down. Alongside the wall a few women and men are seated on the ground, and an elderly couple bring out to them from a near-by house a bowl of *chicha*. A Chola from the schoolhouse offers me a chair, and in turn two men, Indians, both rather drunk, try to talk to me in halting Spanish. The *prioste* is about twenty-five years old. He has been married seven years and now is living in a new house. This is his first *cargo*.

SANTA ROSA'S DAY CELEBRATED BY MUENDE "PRIOSTE"
IN OTAVALO, SATURDAY, APRIL 6

About 8:00 A.M. on my way to the cattle market I hear flutes in a *chicheria* yard on the east side of town. Here there is a circle of dancers and flute-players performing to a large audience, women and little children sitting on the ground on one side of the yard and men standing on the other side or sitting on a ledge of the wall.

About thirteen men are dressed as Blancos, as Whites: white riding breeches, boots and puttees, black waistcoat over white shirt, woven belt, black felt hat, a riding whip with a small hoof handle hanging from the left arm. One man wears goathair chaps. One carries a flag of the national colors—red, blue, and yellow. Four men carry each a flute which is tucked into the belt when not being played.

The flutists start the dance, in antisunwise circle, dancing as they play—two beats with one foot, two beats with the other. After a few revolutions the circle enlarges, the flutists still a part of it but facing one another in a smaller circle, all moving antisunwise until the flagbearer waves for the

circle to reverse. He does this every two or three minutes. Two beats or one beat from foot to foot.

Now the flutists withdraw but go on playing, and, revolving more slowly, the circle does a stamping step from foot to foot,²⁴ with knees bent and body inclined forward (see Pl. XXIII). They dance rythmically and to shouts or cries *yuhú yuhú washkarihú*, [*haricuna*, "men (we are)"],²⁵ typical Indian dance cries.

Inside the dance circle, lying on the ground, are an enamel bowl, a tin cup, and a woollen muffler on which coins are being placed. From time to time the standard-bearer (? *prioste*) removes the collected coins and gives them to a woman who is keeping the purse.

Besides dancers and flutists there are two important figures, *capitanes de Negros*, each wearing a felt hat turned up in front with blue and gilt paper stars, at the back of which is a bunch of colored downy feathers. One has on two red ponchos; the other, two blue ponchos. Several times Red Poncho darts out to the crowd at the doorway to seize a man by the neck and drag him into the yard, probably to make a contribution, but I cannot see for the crowd. One captive breaks free from the clutch and gets out of the yard.

During the dance, which lasts about twenty minutes, gourds of *boda* have been presented now and again to the older men seated on the wall ledge. Now at the close of the dance the gourds of steaming yellow *boda* are carried to the women. An old man with a white goatee says a long prayer, all the men gathering in front and removing their hats. At the close all make the sign of the cross. The food has been blessed.

The dance is repeated: same two figures. Another man carries the standard. The muffler for contributions has been removed. Roast corn ears begin to circulate, and, when the dance stops, another prayer is made, shorter, with hats off and the sign of the cross.

A chair is brought out for Blue Poncho, the *capitán*, and man after man comes up to say *ayllukunapa toming*, drink (from) all the family, and to offer him a drink of *chicha*. He takes a sip or two from the little gourd proffered him, empties the rest back into the large bowl, refills the little drinking gourd, and hands it to the offerer, who drinks.²⁶ The rest of the *chicha* is now distributed to all the family, the *ayllu* who have contributed to its purchase. They also contributed to the roasted corn, which is referred

²⁴ A regular kachina dance step!

²⁵ So the cry sounded to me, but in Peguche they told me the cry was *Churapashunshi*, "Stamp all!" and the dance movement is called *chura negrito*, "Negrito stamp." See below; also p. 156.

²⁶ The chief is drinking with his retainers. Recall Garcilasso's account (II, 166): At the great feast of the summer solstice the Inca was approached without a word by the captains and curacas who presented their cups, but "as he could not . . . drink of them all, he merely put them to his lips, drinking a little from all of them, from some more, from others less, according to the favor he wished to show to their owners."

to as *kukábi*.²⁷ That, too, was offered to the *capitán* and redistributed to the *ayllu*—*ayllukunapa kunapa kukábi*. This ritualistic drinking and eating is common to all saint's day ceremonies.²⁸

Again the dance. A short-hair Indian is sitting in the dance plaza munching corn and in spite of appeals he won't remove, so they just dance around him. They are less patient with a vociferous young Chola, a termagant protesting price, and a man drags her screaming back to her kitchen, from which she does not reappear.

Now in the dance circle a mask appears. Although he dances quietly with the others, at once he attracts attention, and the lookers-on crowd up. The masker wears a sweater and long cloth trousers with pockets in which he keeps his hands. The cloth helmet mask is black on the upper part and pink below, with openings for eyes and mouth and a large loop for nose, back and front, i.e., it is double faced (Pl. XXIV). From the top projects a bunch of six finger-like pieces ("Horns [Q. *kachu*],"²⁹ says Rosita; so he is a *diablito*).³⁰ Only once does the *diablo*, who is called Negrito, act peculiarly: he dances opposite the dancer in chaps, imitating his motions,³¹ and the crowd laughs.

The two *capitanes* do not dance, but in this third performance they stand inside the dance circle. In this performance the two dance figures are being repeated without intervals of rest. So after ten o'clock, feeling the worse for wear from standing in the sun and, as it happened, without breakfast, I start to leave, on the way asking an intelligent and pleasant-looking man if this is a *baile de prioste*. "No."—"What is the name of the dance?" He moves away, without answering—just as a Pueblo might do when questioned by a stranger; and throughout I have been as much ignored as are strange White people at Pueblo dances. Outside I meet a Peguche acquaintance who says it is a *baile de Negro*, and later at Peguche I get positive evidence that this is the San Juan dance, clown mask, ritual drinking, and all. At the San Juan *fiesta*³² the Negritos carry a whip, the wooden ox-goad with rawhide thong and "they frighten people." The *capitanes* are chiefs of the dance group, *capitanes de Negros*.³³

MASS FOR SAN FRANCISCO BY THE PARCIALIDAD OF SAN JUAN, APRIL 9

Another procession on the highway, near Peguche, southward bound, about 2:00 P.M. The saint on the trestle or litter wears a brown habit.

²⁷ See p. 121.

²⁸ See p. 110.

²⁹ Note resemblance to *cacha*, the executive messenger of the *capitán* (p. 181, n. 23); among other Indian peoples the clown-bogey-messenger may be masked.

³⁰ See Appendix, pp. 209-10. The Camuende mask is the same type as the Amagüaña, but smaller and less well made, with no ear loops.

³¹ Just as do the Koyemshi clown masks of Zuni pueblo.

³² See pp. 108-11.

³³ See pp. 108-9.

The maize at San Juan has been suffering from drought, so some people have gone to Carabuela, north of Ilumán (ahead of, *alfrente de*, Ilumán), to get San Francisco who lives there and bring him to their house in San Juan, praying to him overnight, and giving him a Mass in the parish church (San Luis) between 4:00 and 6:00 A.M. *Cuando no le dan misa no llueve*, "When they do not give him a Mass, it does not rain." After the Mass they will carry the saint back to Carabuela.

On their return home, later in the day, they must have got wet, as it was raining hard.

CORPUS CRISTI

At this celebration, *el día de Espiritu (Corpus)*, in Otavalo there were dancers dressed all in silver, *toda plata*.³⁴ (From what town?) Of recent years they have not come out. I surmise that the performers were conquistadors and that *diablos* also came out.³⁵

SAN JUAN'S DAY, JUNE 21

Several *parcialidades* of the valley celebrate this saint's day, which coincides in time with the great Raymi ceremony of the autumn equinox, the new-year ceremony of pre-Conquest Peru, when representatives of all parts of the Empire came to Cuzco to honor the Sun and the Inca, son of the Sun. Several valley *parcialidades* honor the saint in the usual way through *prioste* organization and through a particular dance organization headed by two *capitanes*, *capitanes de Negros*, and their dance is called *baile de Negros*, a dance which may be performed, as we have noted, at other saint's day celebrations. Men volunteer to dance for two or three years, *hacen el voto*,³⁶ they make a vow, to save their lives, *para tener la vida*. Several *parcialidades*, including Peguche, set up table altars in the house (the only time, in Peguche at least, that table altars are used) and brew *chicha* at home. Several *parcialidades*, including Peguche, also observe on the eve of San Juan's Day an essentially non-Christian ritual at the Hawk Falls of Imbabura.³⁷

Peguche has no San Juan *capitán* and as a community is indifferent to the celebration by the dance groups of the other *parcialidades* at the chapel of San Juan, which is about a mile west of Otavalo. These dances last for four days and were observed and photographed by Mr. Bodo Wuth in 1940 (Pls. XXV-XXIX). To Otavaleños they appear to be the outstanding Indian celebration of the year, and the White townspeople are said to be somewhat fearful of the Indians at this time because their usually submissive

³⁴ Cf. Saenz, illustration facing p. 85.

³⁵ See Appendix, pp. 208-10.

³⁶ The Mexican term, *por promesa*, is not used.

³⁷ Cf. the pilgrimage made to a mountain spring by the Otomi of Hidalgo the night of August 5. At other times this spring is guarded by a serpent supernatural (Fabila, pp. 239-40).

PLATE XXIV



CLOTH HELMET MASK WITH HORNS USED BY THE "DIABLITO"

PLATE XXV



Photograph by Beals With

IN FRONT OF THE LITTLE CHAPEL OF SAN JUAN

neighbors tend to be self-assertive and overbearing. For one thing the dancers dress like Blancos and carry whips. They are heavily policed by the town authority. Before giving Mr. Wuth's account, let me describe part of the installation of a San Juan *capitán*, which I saw earlier in the year.

On Sunday, April 21, I happened to be in front of the Church of San Luis in Otavalo when a procession arrived from Azama on the west side of the valley to give a Mass at the installation of their Capitán de San Juan. Thirteen men are in the lead, each carrying a large white candle decorated with white wax leaves and white and pink wax flowers. They are followed by about forty women in two files, a file each side of the road. Each woman carries a small white candle. As they mount the steps, one woman forgets to take off her hat, and a man removes it for her. They all go into the *capilla* of the Señor de Angustias, the women placing their candles in the familiar circular tin candlestand and the men with the aid of an altar boy attempting to find places on the already full altar for their precious ornate candles, particularly ceremonial candles in the fashion of another day.³⁸ They are so fastidious and so slow that the priest comes in grumbling; the church is full, and, as he wants to begin the Mass, he tells them to hold their candles and later set them on the altar. The service begins, but the chapel altar is well out of sight of the high altar of the church, and finally all thirteen candles are satisfactorily placed and the main ritualistic object of the determined pilgrims is secured. During the sermon, completely unintelligible to the pilgrims, women nurse their babies and in low tones some of the men now and again engage in talk. A White boy hides the hats of two Indian boys, to their amusement. There is a marriage party sitting to one side of the high altar, but I can see only the back of the groom, his blue striped poncho and flowing hair, over which lies the rosary of red and brass beads. One of the chapel frescoes divides my attention: a lamb with a human face standing on a little mound, with a cross on his back and from his chest a stream of blood to the large chalice set in tongues of flame below the mound. I wonder how the Indians have interpreted this realistic picture of the blood of the Lamb as I recall that anciently the llama was a sacrificial animal and that its chest was opened and its heart taken out. The Quechua word for sheep, we recall, is *llama*, though today the Spanish term is more frequently used.

West of the humble little chapel of San Juan (Pl. XXV) lie the fields and houses of the *parcialidad* of San Juan, and in their midst is the spring of the saint, a quiet, cold-water spring below high banks, flowing away in a little stream where ordinarily women wash their clothes and families take their weekly bath. No cross or other religious sign is to be seen, but this is *el baño del santo*, and here at *la vispera*, on the eve of San Juan a ritual bath is

³⁸ Cf. Parsons 2:202.

taken by Indians and Whites.³⁹ A wooden rail to hold by stands in the bed of the stream, and a large number of potsherds lie in the bed close to the spring. Water is carried away from the spring to the Church of San Luis by the *curas* to be blessed. The Indian I met near by when I visited the spring told me that the *curas* as well as others bathe in the spring—on Sunday, added Rosita. "The bath is a *remedio*, a cure." (The saint is not bathed as are images in parts of Mexico on the eve of San Juan.)

Now for Mr. Wuth's account of the saint's day celebration. In the large uninclosed chapel yard on three sides booths of mats and poles have been erected (Pls. XXVI-XXVII). There is one of two stories. In these improvised *chicherias* molasses candy (*melcocha*) and pork—the whole pig—as well as *chicha* will be sold. The usual drunkenness prevails (Pl. XXVIII).

The performers come dancing into the chapel yard: ten men, two by two, the first two carrying whips, the last two, huge flutes. As they advance, they sing. Then the two leaders cry an order, and the whole group dances backward,⁴⁰ bodies slightly inclined (Pl. XXIX). At another order the leaders swing their whips in the air, and the group dances forward again. Dancing thus forward and backward, they move up to one of the *chicheria* booths, enter, and take a drink.

After drinking, they form a circle, the two flutists standing inside, circle and flutists alike rotating in a stamping step, to song⁴¹ and flute-playing. At a given shout they reverse the circle. The *capitanes* carry flags but do not dance.

The dancers are dressed as Blancos, in riding breeches, waistcoats, and mufflers; some wear high boots. The characteristic San Juan hat is of straw with upturned brim to which colored paper stars or flowers are pasted; a bunch of feathers is attached in front to the crown. This hat may be worn over the large brimmed felt hat or over a yellow headcloth. One flutist wears an Uhlan helmet (Pl. XXX).⁴²

Besides the group dancers, there are men impersonating women, their hair in ringlets,⁴³ and *diablos* in mask, the mask of the painted wire type (Pl. XXXI). These *diablos*, I infer, are the Negritos group.⁴⁴ All the im-

³⁹ Cf. Parsons 2:47, n. 36; Spicer, p. 215.

⁴⁰ Cf. the men's dance of the Incas (Garcilasso, II, 420-21) in which after the circle dance they advanced singing, taking two steps forward and one backward, steps which in Spanish dances are called *dobles* and *represas*.

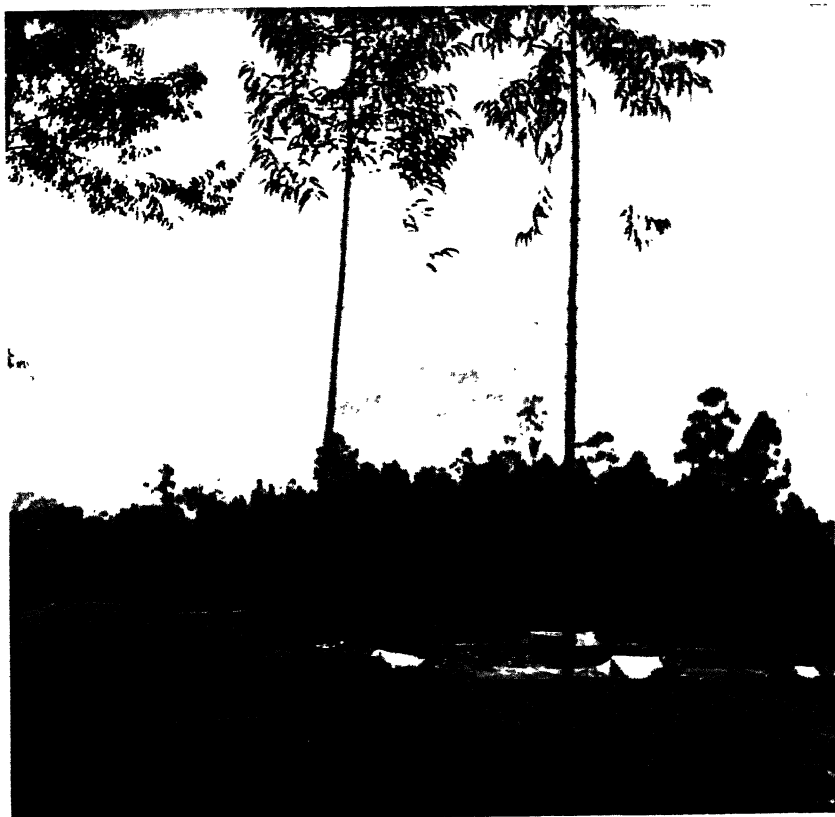
⁴¹ Wuth questioned many persons, Indian and White, about the songs in Quechua but could get no information.

⁴² Rosita thought that my raincoat would be very suitable apparel for "la fiesta de San Juanito."

⁴³ At Cotacachi Whites as well as Indians impersonate women at *fiestas*.

⁴⁴ In Cayambe the *diablos*, who are called *diablumas*, wear either cloth or wire mask (see Appen., p. 213).

PLATE XXVI



SAN JUAN CHAPEL AND PLAZA WITH BOOTHS. SAN JUAN DAY, JUNE, 1940
The volcano of Imbabura in the background

PLATE XXVII



Photograph by Bodo Wuth

"CHICHERIA" OF TWO STORIES ON DANCE PLAZA. OTAVALO, JUNE, 1940

PLATE XXVIII



Photograph by Bodo Wuth

"THE USUAL DRUNKENNESS PREVAILS." SAN JUAN CELEBRATION, 1940

PLATE XXIX



Photograph by Bodo Wuth

DANCERS DRESSED AS BLANCOS. OTAVALO, JUNE, 1940

PLATE XXX



Photograph by Bodo Wuth

FLUTISTS WITH DANCERS. OTAVALO, SAN JUAN DAY, JUNE, 1940
One of the flutists wears a Ulan helmet



Photograph by Bodo Wuth

"DIABLO" WITH MASK OF THE PAINTED WIRE TYPE. SAN JUAN DAY
OTAVALO, JUNE, 1940

personators seemed less organized, more of a medley, than at the Corpus celebrations in the valley of Chillos.

Otavaleño officials armed with rifles police the dance yard, standing sometimes out in the middle in order to separate the dance groups who come from different districts. Bloody quarrels are common between different groups and within the same group, and the police will fire into the air to quiet the fighters.

From Peguche informants I learned that the Capitán de San Juan, the Negro Capitán, and two *pajes* or *luas* each give a Mass.

ALL SOULS⁴⁵

Food is taken to the cemetery (as elsewhere in Quechua-speaking Ecuador)⁴⁶ and eaten there, as in Holy Week.

The Mexican distinction between the child dead or *angelitos* and the adult dead (the first day, properly All Saints, the second day, All Souls) is not observed in Ecuador, but, as the whole ceremonial is commonly referred to as *Finados*, it seems in Ecuador as in Mexico to have in mind the Souls rather than the Saints.

There is a *prioste para almas* who functions at All Souls and possibly for the weekly days of the Souls, Monday and Thursday, but I was unable to learn what he does except that he drops *chicha* on the ground for the Souls. He has no *pajes*, no assistants.

Bread figurines are baked for *Finados* in Otavalo, as elsewhere in Ecuador, and given to godchildren, White or Indian, by their White godmothers. These lambs or little horses of the dead, *borreguito*, *caballito de finados*, are of wheat bread trimmed in sugar colored red or green.⁴⁷

WEEKLY CALENDAR

Fiestas aside, the passing of time at Peguche and elsewhere in the valley is punctuated by the Sunday Mass in the parochial church and by the Saturday market of Otavalo or the nearer town market (Ibarra; Sunday market, Cotocachi). The week's work in weaving, hatmaking, or pottery-making is regulated so as to finish products for the market. The Friday bath in Peguche is also preparatory. The diet may also be affected by the market. Meat is available only during the first part of the week.

Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday,⁴⁸ and Saturday are accounted good days

⁴⁵ Q. *Alma puncha*, Sp. *dia de Almas*; or *Ankil puncha*, Sp. *Angel dia*.

⁴⁶ Cf. Karsten 4:486, Fig. 16.

⁴⁷ See p. 155.

⁴⁸ See p. 196 for necessity to cure sickness from fright on Tuesday or Friday.

to make a trip or to start anything; Monday and Thursday are bad days.⁴⁹ Monday and Thursday, we recall, are the days of the Souls. Sunday is only for prayer, *el día para rezar*. It is well to plant or do anything during the new moon (Rosita).⁵⁰

The evening star is called *Shishi locero (lucero)*, *tarde estrella*, afternoon star, and people say on seeing it, *nyami chishang, ya es tarde*. By the morning star "they know the hours of the early morning" (Cayambe). "We can always tell the time," thought Manuel Lema, who liked to check his guess with my watch and who went somewhat by the whistle of the cotton mill at Rio Grande. The whistle blows every six hours, day and night, for labor shifts.

⁴⁹ Cf. Zapoteca (Parsons 2:323); Guatemala (Wagley 2:34), where planting must be finished on a favorable day.

⁵⁰ New moon = *juju luna*, "baby moon" (*luna minguante* or tripping?); *luna pura*, "full moon"; *luna concosión*, "waning moon." At Cayambe the phases of the moon are well observed.

CHAPTER VII

RITUAL

PRAYER

Prayers (Sp. *rezos*; Q. *risa*) are exceedingly important,¹ and persons who know them are respected and paid for saying them, whether priests or laymen.² Rosita Lema once asked me if I knew any prayers, and when I said, "Yes, a few, in my language," she asked me to repeat one. I said in English the first prayer we teach our children, the frightful one: "Now I lay me down to sleep." Rosita did not ask me to translate, but she looked gratified and impressed. At the time neither of us was aware how well it fits into Indian belief.

According to Rosita, the prayer for the dead said in communal feasting in the cemetery is a sort of litany, the one requesting the prayer saying:

Risapai kay almamanta,
Pray for this soul,
Risapai nyuka familiamanta,
Pray for my family,
Risapai nyuka abuelomanta,
Pray for my grandfather,

and the grandfather's baptismal name is given. Then the prayer-maker says:

Risapasha kampa abuelomanta.
I will pray for your (?) grandfather.

The petitioner gives a bit of food to the prayer-maker, and then the two repeat the aforesaid sentences for each deceased member of the family or close *compadre*, or for all *compadres tukwiya kumpadrekuna*, using kinship term and personal name. In conclusion the prayer-maker will say: "Risa chiwái risa pasha tukwiya almakuna manta risa pashami nyami risa kani tukwi-manta."

After receiving food, the prayer-maker will thank as usual: *Dios se lo pague*, "God will repay," and add, *Nya risa parkani*, "Now I have prayed."³

¹ As usual among Indians (among White Catholics, too, of course); nevertheless, I call attention to Karsten's remark that the idea that the efficacy of an action is enhanced when it is repeated in words (one form of prayer) is one deeply rooted in the minds of the Jibaro (Karsten 4:353).

² See pp. 84, 158. Rosita owns a prayerbook or book of doctrine: *Cristiano Runapac: causai o sea devocionario a usu de los indigenas* (AP.C. SS. R. Allichishca; Cuenca, Ecuador: Tip. San Alfonso, 1939).

³ From my own observation in the cemetery, longer prayers are said also.

KISS: KNEELING

The cross and the images of the saints are kissed in the usual Catholic way. Also the hand of anyone to whom you have knelt⁴ to receive a benediction,⁵ a godparent or the *cura*. Indeed, at any time you may kiss the hand of anyone you wish to honor.⁶

The only informal kisses or caresses I observed were those given baby Matilde, and these were sometimes impressed upon her blanket, just as the dress of a saint may be kissed.

CIRCUIT: ORIENTATION: FAVORED NUMERALS

The antisunwise circuit is very marked. It is followed in the play and games of the children (p. 52), in dance (pp. 100, 102) and processional (p. 105), at the grave (p. 80), and in handicrafts (p. 25). The lakes that figure in the tale of the lost giant (p. 130) are mentioned in antisunwise circuit.

There are no specific terms for the directions, only descriptive terms: *indijushiho*, the sun comes out, east; *indishitahung*, the sun goes down, west; (Sp.-Q.) *shuklado, otro lado*, the other side, south; (Sp.-Q.) *washalado, atraz lado*, across side, north. And the terms or phrases for north and south were given hesitantly, as if improvised. Place names are used rather than directional phrases. In speaking of the evening star, Rosita pointed to its place in the sky in the west in April, in the south in June; but the directional terms she did not use.

Burial is head to the south. Houses in Peguche invariably open to the west, for no reason of weather or wind, according to Rosita. The prevailing

⁴ In Inca Peru kneeling was a posture of veneration or worship (Garcilasso, II, 80). In early Quito, Indians in house service heard Mass in the morning and were given religious instruction at noon, and in some houses in the evening *kneeling before an image* (Quito, 1573, p. 95).

⁵ Guatemala Quiché: In making requests of parents, offspring kneel and kiss their hands (Bunzel, p. 364).

⁶ The hand of the Inca was kissed by one kneeling before him. The Inca himself kissed the initiate on the right shoulder, saying that the child of the Sun deserved to be venerated. The Quechua verb "to kiss" (*muchani*) means also to worship or venerate (Garcilasso, I, 237, 249; II, 22, 175-76). In worshipping the Sun, the Peruvians "kissed the air," which is equivalent, says Garcilasso, to kissing the hand or the dress of a prince in Spain (I, 106, 130; II, 158). The Cuzco youths at their initiation when the images were brought out to the square rose up and "made their *mucha*, which was their manner of worshipping" the images. *Mucha* was performed "before" the images (Molina, pp. 37, 44). All of these references incline me to think that the Catholic ritual *kiss* was identified with a ritual inhalation similar to that of the Pueblos of our Southwest. The Pueblo rite of exhalation, by the way, was also observed by the Peruvians (Garcilasso, I, 132; Molina, p. 63) and is even associated with an offering of corn meal and shell which a patient breathes on before he offers it.

The ritual kiss among Eastern Christians and Russians, by the way, is an approximation to the Indian rite of inhalation. The hand that has touched the sacrosanct object is kissed (Rubruck, p. 184); as Zuni would say, "You breathe from your hand," actually the thumbs of the clasped hands.

wind is from the north, "from Colombia," and is "good"; wind from the south is "bad, stormy."⁷

For a long time I was baffled about the use of a numeral to indicate plurality, the favored numeral. As directional terms are not used, there is no association between number and directions, as in our Southwest. The Quechua count is decimal, and at Peguche I have seen people counting on their fingers,⁸ but neither five nor ten is the term used for "several." In narrative, if anything, it is three, as it may have been also in Inca Peru.⁹ In the curing ritual¹⁰ of Peguche, three is plainly prescriptive,¹¹ and the wake lasts three nights. In playing beans with imaginary opponents, I noticed Alberto making it a game with three players.

DANCE FORMATION

Circle dancing is distinctly favored.¹² Hands are joined,¹³ and moving in a line hand in hand is notable in marriage ceremonial.¹⁴ Dancing by small groups of women in a line is notable.

When intoxicated, women and men will start to dance solo.¹⁵

PROCESSION: SAINT'S TRESTLE

In saint's day celebrations there is usually a procession, sometimes two, into town to pay a Mass for the saint or attend a vespers service. Chapel officials and their wives take part, and the saint is carried on a trestle or litter.¹⁶ Banners and other church paraphernalia are carried. The procession may pause and dance; it is a dance processional.

MUSIC

As noted, the reed flute in Peguche and throughout the valley may be used for pleasure,¹⁷ but other instruments are associated merely with cere-

⁷ But see p. 183.

⁸ See p. 154.

⁹ Garcilasso, I, 338, 341, 342, 346; II, 75, 82, and *passim*. Undoubtedly, Garcilasso himself uses three as a convenient numeral. Cf. Salcamayhua, p. 105.

¹⁰ For ritualistic or other ways cf. Garcilasso, I, 148 n., 315; II, 157, 206, 229. In Eastern Ecuador *three* is favored (Karsten 4: *passim*). Cf. Mexico (Parsons 2:489; Landa, pp. 47, 49, 79).

¹¹ See pp. 71-72.

¹² Cf. Jibaro (Karsten 4:321). In changing the direction, the dancers shout (*ibid.*, 324-25), as in the *baile de Negro* of Imbabura.

¹³ This is a Jibaro trait (Karsten 4:301, 321).

¹⁴ See p. 58; cf. Jibaro (Karsten 4:342).

¹⁵ Cf. Jibaro (Karsten 4:354, 355).

¹⁶ In Inca Peru the priests in charge carried the images or other representations of the gods in ritual processions. They carried them on litters (Molina, p. 33). The army on the march carried the god (Salcamayhua, p. 101). Distinguished persons in Peru were carried on litters.

¹⁷ As in Peru (cf. Garcilasso, I, 192). Jibaro play the flute (and dance) to keep off evil spirits (Karsten 4:430). (Among Pueblos whistling keeps off witches.)

monial: the *pito* or whistle pipe,¹⁸ the *pingullo*, pipes¹⁹ or flutes, the panpipes,²⁰ harp, violin, drum. Drum (a small drum played with one stick) and pipe may be played together by the same performer, a fashion widespread among Spanish Indians.²¹

Imbabura Valley is thought of in Ecuador in a general way as a musical center, but, as far as I know, no records of Indian-played music, instrumental or vocal,²² have been made.

String and brass instruments are in vogue: the harp at weddings, the violin at funerals; and brass instrumentalists are hired to play at *prioste* celebrations.

From Cayambe and San Juan "many monotonous and sad tunes" are reported, sung when people are "gay or drunk." There are few harps, more guitars, one or two violins, perhaps one or two *bandolins*, few flutes (*flautines*), the immense flutes called *tundas*²³ being almost obsolete, panpipes (*rondadores*), *rondín* and the *bocina* at harvesting and to take cattle to Quito.²⁴

At Cayambe for the feast of San Pedro men practice their music long in advance. Some believe that a little spirit (*duende*) called *serenista*, "serenader," who plays the guitar in style, lives halfway up certain brush-covered canyons. Persons who have heard him play a serenade (*sereno*) will say, "In such a place I have heard him play, so I am going to leave my guitar there for him to tune it well and play on, too." So they leave the guitar leaning against the cliff and beside it some *trago* in a corked white bottle. The next day they go to fetch their guitar and the empty bottle. The guitar has been tuned during the night, and its music is very agreeable. The place is empty; they see nobody.²⁵ Spanish instrument and saint's day; Indian spirit and Indian offering!

MASK

Six types of masks have been noted or reported in Ecuador: the peaked or pointed *penitente* hood or *cucuruchu*²⁶ of Good Friday (Otavalo, Tulcan,²⁷

¹⁸ Peruvian *ccuyoi* (Garcilasso, I, 192, n. f).

¹⁹ Peruvian *pincullu* (*ibid.*).

²⁰ Peruvian (*ibid.*, pp. 191-92).

²¹ Parsons 2:254, n. 25; Spicer, pp. 181-82.

²² In Inca Peru only war songs were traditional (Garcilasso, I, 193).

²³ Made of *tunda* they get from the jungles.

²⁴ Reported by J. A. Maldonado.

²⁵ Reported by Francisco Andrango Cabezas.

²⁶ Sp. *cucuruchu*, "paper cone." Cf. *cuculla*, cowl or old-fashioned hood, and *coco* (*cucu*), "bogy." My guess is that the Spanish pointed hood or mask was the original of the bogey mask of northern Mexico and our Southwest.

²⁷ Appendix, p. 198, n. 42.

PLATE XXXII

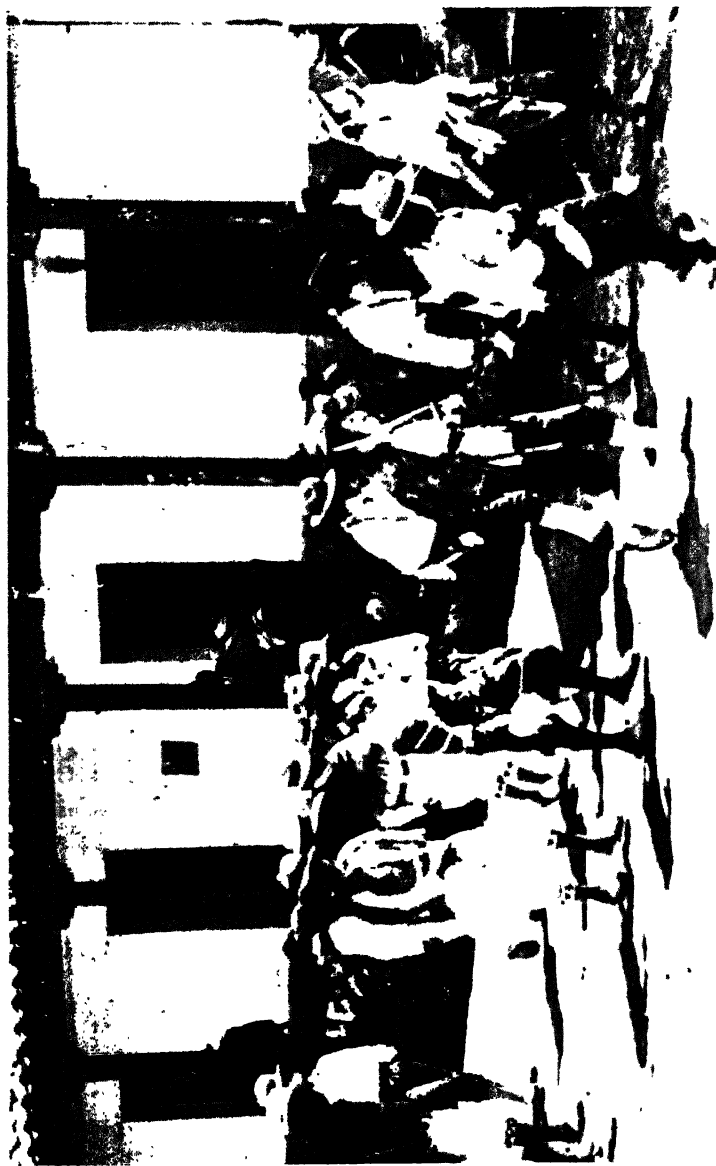


A CONQUISTADOR DANCER TAKES A DRINK FROM A GOURD
CORPUS CRISTI IN VALLE DE LOS CHILLOS

PLATE XXXIII



COLUMN DANCE BY CONQUISTADOR DANCERS AT CORPUS CRISTI
IN VALLE DE LOS CHILLOS



COLUMN DANCE BY CONQUISTADORS AT CORPUS CRISTI IN VALLE DE LOS CHILLOS
Note the belled garters



CIRCLE DANCE BY MASKED CONQUISTADORS AND MEN IMPERSONATING WOMEN
Note the man playing both drum and *pingallo*

PLATE XXXVI



A WOODEN LION MASK FROM SAQUISILI

PLATE XXXVII



A CROSS NEAR THE TOWN OF COTACACHI

Quito, Baños); the very high pointed *carrizo* frame mask of Good Friday; the paper or wire false face of the modern carnival (Quito), which is also worn in the Chillos Valley by Conquista dancers at Corpus Cristi (Pls. XXXII-XXXV) and in the Imbabura Valley by San Juan *diablos*; the Negrito cloth mask worn at *prioste* celebrations (Imbabura, Cayambe, Chillos Valley [Pls. XXXII-XXXV]); a wooden lion mask²⁸ worn at Saquisilí, Cotopaxi Province (Pl. XXXVI), which is almost identical with the Zapotec lion mask from Zaachila, Mexico;²⁹ and a clay mask reported by Jijón y Caamaño.³⁰

All these mask types are worn by Indians, but none, as far as I know, is made by Indians, not even the Negrito or Montero,³¹ Diablo or Diabluma mask, of which the design appears to be aboriginal.³²

There is so little clowning in the behavior of the *diablos* or Negritos that, were they not obviously related by name and by their policing near-bogey functions to clown masks elsewhere in the early Spanish empire,³³ it would

²⁸ Probably Spanish substitute for aboriginal lion head and skin.

²⁹ Parsons 2:264. Certain Peruvian *curacas* or chiefs came to the summer solstice ceremony at Cuzco arrayed in the skin of a lion with the head fixed over their own [Aztec fashion] or with condor wings attached to their bodies [Pueblo Indian Eagle dance]. These representatives or impersonators claimed descent from Lion or Condor (Garcilasso, II, 156). At the initiation of the youths of Cuzco—their installation as “knights,” i.e., warriors—“those who dressed in the skins [lionskins, their heads set with gold earpieces and gold teeth] put on the head and neck of the lion so as to cover their own, and the skin of the body of the lion hung from the shoulders” (Molina, p. 45).

³⁰ *Los Aborígenes de la provincia de Imbabura en la república del Ecuador*, p. 307, Pl. XV. Jijón specifies two masks, one he found being used by an Indian, in what connection is not stated, and one inferably found in an ancient burial, a *pozó* or well-like burial, the location not specified. It is unfortunate that this archeological evidence for masks is so uncertain. My letter to Señor Jijón remained unanswered.

³¹ Canelos and Jibaro Indians do not use masks. Jibaro warriors paint black all over and slayers observe abstinence taboos for several months (Karsten 4:288, 307).

³² Cf. the “multiple-headed god” on Nazca pottery (Means, p. 98). Cf. Appendix, p. 210, n. 90.

³³ Tagalog of Philippines; mestizos or Whites and Pueblo Indians of New Mexico; in Mexico, mestizos, Yaqui-Mayo, Tarahumara, Zapoteca.

The only clown masks of Bolivia—indeed, the only dance mask—are worn by Cholos, who are not infrequently paid for their performances. The dress of these “Morenos” is “usually very costly, being the costume of the eighteenth century, bright-colored frocks of velvet or silk, richly embroidered with gold and silver, vests to fit, knee-breeches, hats, and low shoes and masks, hideous rather than comical. With them go small boys wearing ugly masks of devils, and frequently a condor, that is, a performer arrayed in the plumage of that bird and with a mask imitating its head. If the Morenos were less addicted to hard drinking, their pranks and jests might be more palatable. At Copacavana, however, they performed in a rather dignified way. Their costumes were plainer, and each played a small flute or fife. They evidently have nothing in common with the primitive dances of the Indians” (Bandelier, p. 116, also n. 136). As Bandelier points out, these Moreno dancers were introduced by the early Church. They correspond to Los Moros, “the Moors,” of Mexico; also to *conquista* or *mata-china* dancers (Parsons 2:250-58).

not occur to us³⁴ to refer to them as clowns.³⁵ (Possibly they are warriors.)³⁶ As near-bogey impersonations they may be compared with the Abuhuwa jungle bogeys of the Cubeo of northeastern Colombia.³⁷ Both are two-faced with a big head. The Abuhuwa mask is made *ridiculous* at the mourning ceremony. Our Imbabura-Pichincha impersonation is plainly related to the *two-faced* cannibal called Chipicha,³⁸ a version of the Abuhuwa.

ROADSIDE RITUAL

Near the top of a long slope where the road ascends toward the town of Cotacachi a niche is cut out of the clay bank, and in it stands a wooden cross. On its pedestal and arms small stones have been piled (Pl. XXXVII). Blackening and wax drop show that candles have been burned in the small recesses of the niche.

Candles are burned here on Holy Cross Day, May 3, and, according to my White driver, the cross was set here because a man was robbed and killed here—the reason often given in Spanish America for a roadside cross.³⁹ The Cholo knew nothing about the pebbles.

But Rosita knew about the pebbles, although this particular pile she had never seen, never having crossed the valley to Cotacachi. However, to the northeast near San Antonio de Ibarra where the road descends, Rosita knows of a cross and pile of stones where a person will rub his feet and legs with a pebble to get rid of fatigue or foot soreness—*se limpia muy bien*, “he cleanses himself well”—and will then leave the pebble near the cross to which he has prayed.

In southern Ecuador at difficult or dangerous places on the road piles of pebbles are to be seen, together with little crosses of straw.⁴⁰

³⁴ But José Ruis identifies this *nigro tukushka* (*negro disfrazado*, “black mask”) as *paysa* (Sp. *payaso*), “clown.” Otavaleños refer to these masks as *payaso*, and once I saw some little White children inverting a paper bag over the head and shouting *Payaso!* as they chased one another on the street.

³⁵ But clown masks were familiar at Cuzco at the great summer solstice ceremony. Representative of the northwestern Yunca tribe “came attired in the most hideous masks that can be imagined, and they appeared at the feasts making all sorts of grimaces, like fools and simpletons; and for this purpose they brought instruments in their hands, such as badly-made flutes and tambourines, and pieces of skins, to assist them in their fooleries” (Garcilasso, II, 156–57, 167). On the coast of Ecuador the chiefs were attended by buffoons (*ibid.*, p. 425).

In its own dramatization the Inca court “did not allow improper or vile farces” (*ibid.*, I, 194). Inca and Catholic authorities may alike have suppressed in Ecuador the clowning behavior characteristic elsewhere.

³⁶ See pp. 136–37.

³⁷ Goldman, pp. 246–47.

³⁸ See pp. 131–34.

³⁹ But see p. 145 for the tale of a highway murder in this locality.

⁴⁰ Rivet, p. 90. In Peru and Bolivia stones and coca leaves are piled at mountain passes (Bandelier, p. 99). See Squier, p. 248, and picture of a cross-crowned, twenty-foot-high *apachita*

CLEANSING ("LIMPIARSE")⁴² OR EXORCISM

The legs and feet are cleansed of fatigue by passing a stone over them. Similarly, the body is cleansed of ailment by passing over it a guinea pig or egg.

Another form of cleansing or exorcism is by smudge⁴³ from plants that have been blessed and other plants. Rosita had a smudge made of palm when she was frightened by thunder,⁴³ and again, when she was very sick, palm and other plants were burned. The sorcerer blows tobacco smoke on the patient who is sick from bewitchment or who is to be charmed against losing things.⁴⁴

A ritual bath⁴⁵ or wash is prescriptive for all marriage attendants after the night the mating is consummated⁴⁶ and, at Peguche and San Rafael, for the corpse.⁴⁷ The ritual bath on visiting the mountain for the first time has been interpreted at Cayambe as an exorcism,⁴⁸ and a bath of purification is recommended during the dark of the moon.

(term unfamiliar in Ecuador) at the pass of Guaylillos, where men and animals succumb to *soroche*. *Apachita* has been derived from Quechua *apana*, "to carry away"; causative form *apachina*, to make someone carry away; the Peruvian rite, too, has been interpreted as an exorcism (Karsten 3:347-48).

In early Peru burden carriers at the passes unloaded themselves and made an offering of an eyebrow hair, of the coca they were chewing, or of a small stick, a piece of straw, a stone, or clod. "Now, in these times," writes Garcilasso, "crosses are placed on the tops of passes, which they worship in acknowledgment of the grace that has been conferred by our Lord Christ" (I, 117-18).

⁴² *Situa*, the fourth of the great Inca ceremonies, was for general exorcism, "cleansing from evil." When the Sun's messengers were running forth from the city to banish evils, chasing them out beyond a fixed mark, all the inhabitants came to the doors of their houses, shook the clothes they had on as if getting rid of dust, and "passed their hands over their heads, faces, arms, and legs, as if in the act of washing. All this was done to drive the evils out of their houses" (Garcilasso, II, 230-31).

⁴³ Ritual smoke may be partly of Spanish provenience (see Parsons 2:55, 510, 523), but see Appendix, p. 204, for fumigation used at Cayambe to exorcise a ghost infant in possession of an infant, the infant being held in the smoke of plants that the padre has "baptized." Anyone at Cayambe who has been possessed by Rainbow may also be smoked over a plant smudge (Appen., p. 198).

Among Jibaro during the exorcising four-night dance, preliminary to the victory war dance, the head trophy is kept hanging over a smoking fire (Karsten 4:325-26).

⁴⁴ See p. 153. Cf. Maya practice: "In times of necessity even the women and youths and maidens understood it as incumbent on them to burn incense and pray to God that he free them from evil and overcome the demon who was the cause of it" (Landa, pp. 46, 78). As usual, fumigation is confounded with incense.

⁴⁵ Cf. Wagley 1:258; Karsten 3:382.

⁴⁶ The ritual bath in stream or waterfall is a marked trait among Jibaro and Canelos Indians (Karsten 4:326, 342, 346, 359, 391, 440). The ritual bath was Inca also (Molina, pp. 23, 24, 45, 64; Karsten 3:485, 488).

⁴⁷ See p. 58.

⁴⁸ See p. 78 and Appendix, p. 203, for bath after burial, at Cayambe. ⁴⁸ See p. 200.

In the ravine called Porlugarda where three streams unite, two from the same river and another from another ravine, it is very effectual, some people say, to bathe in the dark of the moon. They collect many plants—laurel, *sauco*, *chilco*—to rub with, besides twigs to whip themselves with. They cast all the plants into the middle of the river, saying *ric chique* (misfortune, danger—Middendorf) and in this way, they say, good fortune (*la suerte*) will come and all distemper (*mal humor*) will depart [Francisco Andrango].

Asperging with holy water is clearly thought of as a rite of exorcism sometimes associated with confession.⁴⁹

CONFESSION⁵⁰

Rosita Lema and others in Peguche go to confession⁵¹ once a month. Some Peguche people confess themselves only once a year, on Good Friday. During Rosita's month-long confinement she skipped confession, but this omission the padre told her "Our Lord would pardon." In sickness⁵² people may confess to the padre; then they recover. They may confess to having quarreled.⁵³ If a child is sick and a parent confesses, the child will recover.

In Cayambe a girl who was threatened or possessed by a spirit cat or by the Fire Mother was taken to confession that the spirit might not continue to molest the household.⁵⁴ Another Cayambe female who experienced spirit

⁴⁹ See p. 142.

⁵⁰ In spite of statements made by his own contemporaries, Garcilasso denies that "secret" confessions were practiced prior to the Conquest, but the Peruvians did make "public" confessions because "they held it to be a shameful thing that evil should be brought upon the commonwealth by their faults, such as pestilence, deaths, bad harvests, or other special misfortunes" (I, 121, 148). This we recognize as indeed an Indian attitude associated not with the concept of penitence but with that of exorcism for breaking rules. The following account of cleansing or exorcising practices cited by Garcilasso's editor, Markham, in this connection supports this point of view. After fasting for some days, participants in the principal ceremonies blew sacrificial ashes into the air. Then they washed their heads at the juncture of the two streams. Returning to the officiating priest, they said: "Hear me! ye hills, plains, condors that fly in the air, owls, lizards, and all plants and animals for I desire to confess my sins." After observing certain omens as criteria of the "sins," i.e., whether or not the specific acts had been or would be the cause of disaster, the perpetrator had to abstain from salt and pepper, to undergo whipping, or to put on new clothes "so as to leave his sins in the old ones" (Garcilasso, I, 148 n.; cf. Karsten 3:487 ff.).

⁵¹ Among modern Catholicized Indians elsewhere confession is a rare practice, and I have never observed among them the rite of "striking the breast" which our northern Catholics perform during the Mass when they say the Confiteor.

⁵² From a *parcialidad* "near Otavalo" a priest reports that after a reconciliation between a father and son who had been quarreling and were not on speaking terms the son knelt before his father for forgiveness and blessing. The father said that, in so far as was in his power, he forgave him completely but that God must give the final and complete forgiveness and that he would pray to God to do so (see, too, pp. 138-39). All this also suggests Maya practice.

⁵³ There was special confession for sickness in Inca Peru (Molina, p. 64), just as among the Maya, modern (Bunzel, pp. 376-77) and ancient (Landa, p. 45).

⁵⁴ See Appendix, p. 205.



CHICKEN BEING OFFERED TO THE "HACENDADO," OR PATRON



CHICKEN BEING OFFERED TO THE "HACENDADO," OR PATRON

PLATE XL



CHICKEN BEING OFFERED TO THE "HACENDADO," OR PATRON

hallucinations while drunk tried to send for the padre to confess her but failed to reach him and so has remained sick.⁵⁵ Quite plainly confession is thought of as an exorcising or curing rite.

EATING AND DRINKING: DRUNKENNESS

Eating and drinking, feasting, is a part of every formal assemblage whether at home for baptism, wedding, or funeral, in the house of *prioste*, in *chicheria* or *estanco*, in the cemetery.⁵⁶ Food is generally served first and afterward the drink,⁵⁷ excepting in the cemetery, where no liquor is drunk.

Contributions of food or liquor or of money to purchase liquor are made by family, by *padrinos* or *compadres*, and by officials (*prioste* or *alcalde*). The family seniors will offer or distribute the drink (*servicio budador*) that all have paid for, as when *chicha* is offered to the *capitanes* or *priostes* of saints' days ceremonies. It is customary for the *chicheria* to supply *boda* (*buda*), the corn meal gruel, without charge.⁵⁸

Boda and roasted corn, on or off the cob, are the usual food. The toasted corn kernels are referred to as *kukabi*.⁵⁹ In cemetery feasts boiled potatoes and beans are also eaten. These also are served at feasts in houses, together with boiled chicken and guinea pig. To highly honored or distinguished guests at home chicken and guinea pig, bread, and boiled milk will be served. After serving, it is mannerly to withdraw, not to watch guests eat. At haciendas chickens are offered to the *hacendado* or patron (Pls. XXXVIII-XL). Produce and bread and meat are offered to the Blessed Souls.⁶⁰ Live guinea pigs and cooked food are offered to Rainbow (p. 65) and at Hawk Falls (p. 93).⁶¹

The drinking ritual in offering *chicha* to the *capitanes de Negros* has been described.⁶² I was told at Peguche that *chicha* was also dripped on the

⁵⁵ See p. 136.

⁵⁶ See Index, "Feasting."

⁵⁷ In Inca Peru "while they were eating they never drank." Indeed, this was the custom of all Peruvian Indians (Garcilasso, I, 129-30; II, 164).

⁵⁸ In early times people went to the great houses (*buyyo, bohio*) of the chiefs (*los señores y caciques*) to put in an appearance (*hacen presencia*) and to meet to drink (Quito, 1573, p. 94).

⁵⁹ *Cocavi* is defined by the Spanish dictionary as "*coca* or other provisions for a journey." Inferably, the term derived from the *coca* leaf is now applied in Ecuador, where *coca* is not known, to toasted maize.

⁶⁰ At the August exorcising ceremony of Situa before the Inca mummies "the food they had been most fond of when they were alive was placed" (afterward the persons in charge of the bodies consumed the food) (Molina, p. 25). See above, p. 77.

⁶¹ To the Sun the Incas offered "domestic animals, large and small [including guinea pigs]," also "rabbits and all birds used for food, all the pulses and cereals, the herb *coca*, and the finest cloths" (Garcilasso, I, 53, 129; Means, p. 374). Guinea pigs were offered to the Sun by the Collas (Salcamayhua, p. 101).

⁶² See p. 106.

ground during the San Juan *fiesta*.⁶³ Of this celebration, Mr. Wuth writes: "Its only(!) purpose consists of dancing and singing and drinking." In much the same vein Garcilasso wrote of a victory celebration at Cuzco: "The festival was celebrated with songs and dances, and much eating and drinking, which was the principal things in their festivals."⁶⁴ Garcilasso adds: "Having finished their dance, they drank to each other;⁶⁵ and presently others rose up to dance, and then others, so that the dancing lasted all day"—indeed, all month.

During the San Juan or the San Pedro festival, Peguche and other Imbabura *parcialidades* make an offering of liquor at Hawk Falls.⁶⁶ It seems significant that especially at this season is *chicha* home brewed.

In offering a drink, a little speech may be made:

ishkanipashu⁶⁷ opiapashu machangkapa kashnami opiaring rikupangi
two we let us drink to get drunk so it is so drink earnestly (*veras*)
(*pará chumar*)

tukúchi parkarnimi rikupangi kambash chasnayata upiapangi
I have drained I have finished earnestly you too similarly drink
(*a mi acabe*) (*ya me acabe*)

The drinking associated with curing is probably not a fortuitous matter or even merely to give courage to doctor and patient. Spraying rum is plainly exorcistic, and drinking may once have had, if not now, the same character.⁶⁸

In this connection drunkenness had best be discussed, closely related as it is in Ecuador, as throughout South America, to ritual theory and practice. Among Imbabura Indians there is more drunkenness from *chicha* than from rum, according to Rosita, probably because less rum is drunk at a time or less frequently. Little or no stigma attaches to drunkenness,⁶⁹ and no sense of guilt. There is no concept about immoderation being in itself regrettable or condemnable, nor is there any idea of condemning a person for any behavior while drunk. He may behave quite immorally, for example, showing disrespect toward parent or godparent, even to fighting with a

⁶³ This was done at ordinary meals at Cuzco. "They dipped the point of the middle finger into the bowl [of *chicha*], and, gazing attentively at the sky, they filipped off the drop of liquor which adhered to the tip of the finger, thus offering it to the Sun, in gratitude for the grant of this liquor. At the same time they kissed the air two or three times" (Garcilasso, I, 130).

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 146.

⁶⁵ See p. 106.

⁶⁷ In Spanish rendered as *salud*.

⁶⁸ See p. 93.

⁶⁹ See below.

⁶⁹ "They almost hold it as honorable to be drunkards" (Quito, 1573, pp. 92, 93). This was approximately so in early Guatemala (Bunzel, p. 362) but not in Inca Peru, where no official "dared" to get drunk (Garcilasso, Vols. I, II), and Garcilasso reports that in his day "through the mercy of God and the good example which has been set them in this particular by the Spaniards, no Indian can get drunk without being despised and reviled by his fellows" (II, 164).

father or godfather, but this is considered a natural consequence of drinking⁷⁰ and is not held against the drunkard.⁷¹ When José asked me if in my country brothers fought together when they got drunk, only curiosity about foreign customs was involved; there was no suggestion about superiority or inferiority in behavior. I had been asking if men when drunk ever fought over a woman.⁷² "Never," said José, adding that when men fought they fought merely because they were drunk; even brothers fought together, even son and father, even godchild and godfather! Incredible behavior except in drunkenness. The reputed lack of all motivation⁷³ in drunken fighting utterly precludes condemnation.

On the other hand, not to drink, to refuse a proffered *copita*, may be a misdemeanor involving whipping;⁷⁴ refusal is always an offense.⁷⁵ Once when I was out walking with José and our direct way home led past the *chicherias* in Peguche, he told me to go on by myself while he avoided the *chicherias* through a circuitous cornfield trail. He knew he would be invited to drink, and it was more polite, as well as easier, no doubt, to avoid temptation, for him to take the roundabout way. Besides, he knew that I, too, because I was along with him, would be offered a drink and would probably decline it, and that would add to the awkward situation. "If you eat [proffered food], we are friends," once said Rosita; "if you do not eat, we are not friends." This is felt even more strongly for drinks.

Any acceptable stranger, say, one accompanied by an acquaintance, will be offered a drink. At a dance, of course, I would accept the *copita*, but in the casual roadside drinking of which I knew Rosita did not approve I did not join, giving the only possible excuse, "No se tomar [I do not know how to drink]." But only girls are supposed not to know how,⁷⁶ so that excuse was not wholly acceptable. "Si, sabe, no quiere [Yes, she knows, she doesn't want to]," was the ready retort. Perhaps the better way out would be always to dissimulate, *disimular*, as under like circumstances I was once advised at Mitla, and just to take a sip. Ethnologists cannot afford to be reformers.

⁷⁰ One of the sayings of the Inca Pachacutec was: "Drunkenness, anger and madness go together; only the first two are voluntary and to be removed, while the last is perpetual" (Garcilasso, II, 208). Inferably, Peruvian drunks also got into fights.

⁷¹ Cf. Parsons 2:110; Quiche, Bunzel, p. 367; Chiapas, Mexico, Bunzel, p. 378.

⁷² See p. 58. The reporter for Loyola in 1580 states that at the drunken dances "each one takes the woman that he desires," and this is the cause of their wars because after they sobered up they felt the insult and went to avenge it (Stirling, pp. 33, 34).

⁷³ Cf. Chiapas, Mexico (Bunzel, p. 376).

⁷⁴ See p. 188, n. 7.

⁷⁵ Bunzel, p. 373.

⁷⁶ This may be cited as an instance of feminine conservatism, for it is probable that in early times youths also were not allowed to drink, as in Aztec Mexico, where drinking was a prerogative of old age.

wizard of Peguche, we recall, sought an omen from candle flame.⁶ I have found no other omens at Peguche except through dreams.⁷

DREAMS

"I dream, but I forget my dreams," says Rosita. "I don't believe in dreams, but others do believe."⁸ They believe that it is *mala suerte* to dream of peppers (*aji*), fire, a wild bull, or a horse. Peppers, fire,⁹ and bull¹⁰ are a sign of anger (*cólera*) in yourself or in others the next day. A horse means a fever; a dog, sickness from *mal aire*; an egg, a boil, a growth.¹¹ A big river means visitors from a distance; a downpour, that it will rain; a ring or rosary, marriage; maize, losing money; barley, getting money.¹²

If the dead appear in dream, you sicken; it gives you *mal aire*.

wanyushka almakuna muskurin chaymi wayira washka
el muerto almas todas sueño por eso mal aire mi ha dado

For dreams at Cayambe see the Appendix (p. 216) and also the dream or hallucination about spirit swine (pp. 204, 206), which has a decidedly Jibaro character. And see also the tales (pp. 127 ff.) for dreams or hallucinations of traveling.

RIDDLES

Peguche may be added to the many Indian groups that have been exposed more or less to the Spanish riddle for a long time without taking it. Rosita, probably the most Hispanicized person in the *parcialidad*, knew no

⁶ During the war between Huascar Ynca of Cuzco and Atahualpa Inca of Quito two captains of Atahualpa sought for an omen. They "lighted a fire on their left hands with a piece of grease, putting one lump of grease to represent the camp of Huascar Ynca, and the other for the camp of Atahualpa. And the one in the place of Huascar Ynca burnt much more than that in the place of Atahualpa, so that the grease of Huascar, burning up so high, went out very quickly, while that of Atahualpa went on burning." Then the captains "sang the *haylli*, and told their men that all would go well" (Salcamayhua, p. 117).

⁷ For ordinary omens they made use of dreams and the appearance of sacrifices (Garcilasso, I, 183).

⁸ In Inca Peru they believed that dreams "are what the soul sees in the world while the body sleeps. Owing to this vain belief, they paid much attention to dreams, and their interpretation, saying that they were signs and omens which presaged either much evil or much good" (*ibid.*, pp. 129, 344, 346; II, 89). Unfortunately, "to avoid scandal," Garcilasso does not list dream prognostications which were "fearful things" (I, 183). Cf. Salcamayhua, pp. 104-5.

Jibaro attach supreme importance to dreams, in both normal and narcotic sleep. Indeed, only in dreams is true reality revealed. The dead and the animals, at other times dangerous, appear in dreams in friendly, counseling ways (Karsten 4:444 ff.). "Tapirape shamans travel widely in their dreams" (Wagley, pp. 253, 256, 258, 259).

⁹ José Ruis believes that a dream of making a fire, blowing on one, or cooking means that people will come disputing (*renegando*) the next day. It has often happened to him.

¹⁰ To a Chola from Ibarra a bull dream meant money; lying down in a bed, a voyage; water, weeping (cf. Appen., p. 216). No indication here or at Peguche of the European idea of dreams going by contrary.

¹¹ See Appendix, p. 216.

¹² See Appendix, p. 216.

riddles when I asked her about riddling. Apparently she had never heard of this form of entertainment. But, as we were talking about it, little Lucila was listening, and she brought me her convent-school reader and showed me some *adivinanzas*.

Oro, no es; plata no es y el que no adivina un gran borrico es (Plátano).

Casco de grana	Cajetita de bombón
Gran caballero	Sin tapita ni tapón.
Capa dorada	El huevo
Espuela de acero.	
El gallo	

A day or two later Rosita, the alert minded, told me some other riddles that she had picked up meanwhile from somebody:

Un hombre que se pone calzón blanco con saco verde.
Que será?
Cebolla.

Ataúd verde
Mortajita blanca.
Guaba.

Una flor que sale sólo de noche.
Estrella.

La mamá es cabezona
El guagua es muy bravo.
Ají.

Que cosa es que anda día y noche y no se acaba?
El rio.

La mamá está hechada
El guagua anda.
Metate.

Una negra amarrada la cabeza con pañuelo blanco.
Olla de cocina.

Que cosa es que sale día y noche, que tiene mil espaldas, no se anda, estan no mas?
Penco (Sp.), Sawar (Q.).

De dos ventanas se parece y pues se pierde.
Mucus [Rosita points to her nose].

TALES

IMBABURA VISITS COTACACHI¹³

Imbabura Old Man was in love with Huarmi Rasu, Snow Woman.¹⁴ He went to visit her. In the house of his love they prepared dinner. Imbabura Old Man dined.

¹³ Told by Rosita Lema.

¹⁴ The Indians' name for Cotacachi. A heavy rain in the valley means a snow cap on Cotacachi.

They ate baked turkey. Then later after dinner Imbabura Old Man felt a pain in his stomach. He almost died. Then they doctored him. When they gave him medicine, he vomited everything. He vomited snakes, serpents, lizards, frogs.

Imbabura said he was frightened; never again would he eat turkey,¹⁵ nor would he ever come back. He and Snow Woman ceased being friends. It was ended.

The remedy Snow Woman gave him was urine. So it is customary to this day to take urine for stomach ache. The pain goes. Urine is Imbabura's remedy.¹⁶ It is a sure remedy.

THE MOUNTAINS PLAY BALL¹⁷

Chuso Longo¹⁸ had very long hair. He had a little bit of a poncho. He had a little staff of shining gold.¹⁹ He was strong, strong. Nobody could fight him. He lived on Yanaurco, Black Mountain.

Imbabura Taita, Father Imbabura, went to look for Chuso Longo to play ball. It was not truly a ball they had; it was a rock as big as this house. Chuso Longo was to throw it to Imbabura, and Imbabura was to throw it to Chuso Longo. Chuso Longo succeeded in throwing it. Imbabura could not throw it.²⁰ The ball fell half-way, at Jatunyacu, "Big Water."²¹ Imbabura was unsuccessful in throwing it; he lost the game and Chuso Longo won. Because Chuso Longo won, Black Mountain has everything—water, wood, trees of all kinds, tillable land. Having lost, Imbabura has nothing, no water, no wood, no trees; he stayed poor.

*Cayambe version:*²² When it lights up from one point to another [heat lightning on the horizon, a frequent phenomenon—J. L. G.],²³ the natives say that the Mountains are playing ball, gambling with a golden ball, one against the other, betting their fortunes.

"When a mountain starts to play with another mountain, if one of the mountains loses, they say that the mountain that has won takes from the other all the animals that exist on it, rabbits, deer, wolves, that is to say all the animals that live on the *páramos*; and for this reason there is nothing, and it is hard to find rabbits, deer, and birds. But when the mountain has won from another mountain, it has animals

¹⁵ Was turkey once a sacrificial bird? Wild turkey is found in the Jibaro-peopled forests to the south (Karsten 4:68). Domesticated turkeys are kept on the haciendas but not in the *parcialidades*.

¹⁶ Inferably, if Imbabura cures he also causes disease. In Jibaro belief, hills and mountains, the dwelling-places of deceased sorcerers, send disease; disease from the mountains is a widespread Andean belief (Karsten 1:282, 4:382, Mishkin, p. 235).

¹⁷ Told by Rosita Lema.

¹⁸ *Chuso* is slang for "little"; *longo* is a term for "Indian"—young Indian. Used by a White, *chuso longo* is an abusive term, comments a Cholo of San Pablo.

¹⁹ This detail was contributed by the *maestro* of Riobamba and Ibarra, who was listening to the familiar story. Have we here a reminiscence of the famous scepter of gold of the Inca emergence myth? (Garcilasso, I, 64; II, 236).

²⁰ Cf. the throwing contest between the Sun or Inca and another culture hero recorded in Kauri, an Andean village seventy miles east of Cuzco (Mishkin).

²¹ The outlet of the Laguna de San Pablo. It flows through the hacienda of Peguche and supplies power for a cotton mill at the southwest corner of the Indian settlement.

²² Written by José Antonio Maldonado Cabezas.

²³ Juan L. Gorrell.

in great quantities. For this reason, when one says to the inhabitants of a *páramo*, 'Why do you not bring in rabbits?' he may tell us that the mountain has lost in gambling with another mountain, and for this reason now there is nothing on the *páramo*, or that such and such mountain must have won; there must be rabbits there, because it has won. If one brings many rabbits to sell, one may say, '*Taitico mío* (my little father) has favored our little mountain so that it might win, and for this reason now there are lots of rabbits. There are times when there isn't time to go out and catch them. Deer are going around just like sheep.' They speak with joy, but, when the mountain loses, they speak sadly."

THE INHERITANCE OF THE MOUNTAINS AND HILLS²⁴

There was a father.²⁵ He had a lot of children, and he summoned them to give them their inheritance. The next day early in the morning they were to get up. Yanaurco, Black Mountain, got up earliest, then Huarmi Rasu, Snow Woman,²⁶ and went to where their father was in order to receive their inheritance. Then came Imbabura, then Pucará Loma,²⁷ then Cotama Loma.²⁸ They all went to ask for their inheritance. The first one, Black Mountain, got a full inheritance. Then came Snow Woman; she got very little. Imbabura, because he was behind, got nothing. That is why he is poor, because he overslept. Pucará Hill was more lazy and so is bare, has no fruits, nothing. Cotama Hill, laziest and last of all, has nothing, nothing, nothing. Their father gave him nothing.

THE GIANT AND THE LAKES²⁹

There lived a man near the sun (*cerca de llegar el sol*), a very tall man. This man made a bet with another one that he would go into the lake [Lake of San Pablo] to see who was higher, deeper. He went into the lake at Compañía (on northeast side of lake), and the water came up between his ankle and his calf; no further. (He was very tall, wasn't he?) Then he went into Yana Cocha, Black Lake,³⁰ the lake of Yanaurco, Black Mountain. The water reached to his knees. Then he went into Cuicocha, the lake south of Cotacachi, and the water reached to his waist. He went into Yawar-kocha,³¹ the lake near Ibarra, and the water reached only to his ankles. He went into Cunro Cocha, on top of Imbabura. It is a small lake and he thought

²⁴ Told by Rosita Lema.

²⁵ His name is forgotten; cf. the Cañar "mountain father" (p. 90, n. 46).

²⁶ Cotacachi.

²⁷ High hill just south of Peguche.

²⁸ Hill just west of Peguche known as La Bolsa.

²⁹ Told by Rosita Lema.

³⁰ Known usually as Mojando.

³¹ *Yahuar-cocha*, "blood lake." After the Inca Conquest the province of Caranque [Ibarra] rebelled against the "yoke of the Ynca." On an appointed day "they killed the officers of the Ynca with much cruelty, and offered their heads, hearts, and blood, to their gods. . . . They ate the flesh of the murdered people with much pleasure and voracity, swallowing it without chewing, in revenge for having been deprived of this enjoyment for so long a time. . . . Thousands of men fell on either side. . . . Two thousand of the Caranques and their allied tribes [unconquered tribes to the north] were executed by drowning them in the lake" (Garcilasso, II, 448-49).

it would not harm him, but when he went in he disappeared.³² The handholds and footholds he made in climbing Imbabura are still there and may be seen plainly from Cusin.

VARIANT³³

In the past, they say, a man was going around called Sanson Giant. He went around comparing various lakes, both full and sunken. He entered the lake of Mojanda and then the lake of San Pablo and Yahuar Cocha, and he crossed other lakes before and after San Pablo. He was going to enter the little lake of Cunro, and, on entering, he said it was nothing, since he had entered other larger lakes and "the water came up only to the shins and as the others did not make me afraid much less will this little one which I will go through running and making fun of." So he entered the lake at a run with the idea of crossing to the other side, making fun of the lake. When he least expected it, he felt he was sinking to the bottom of the lake, and he was frightened. Trying to get out, he managed to cry out at Imbabura and Pesillo to save his life because he was sinking to the bottom. He got hold of them. After he got out, he testified (*confesó*, confesses) that the little lake was connected with Hell and that the devils were dragging him by the feet. Since then to this day they say that the little lake of Cunro connects or communicates with Hell, and this idea is held at present by all the inhabitants of these places.

THE ORIGIN OF THE LAGUNA DE SAN PABLO³⁴

At a certain epoch Jesucristo was walking along in the province of Imbabura, asking alms from house to house. South of Otavalo he came to a hacienda belonging to a Señor San Pablo. It was midday and the owners were having lunch. At the door Jesucristo begged for charity. Two furious dogs came out to bite him, but the servant protected him from the dogs and gave him a little piece of bread. Jesucristo told the girl to take a purse of money and leave in the afternoon for a place very far away, otherwise death would surely befall her. Hearing this, she turned cold and did not know what to do, but she said nothing to her *patrones* and did what Jesucristo told her.

In the afternoon in the middle of the house there appeared two *azafates* (? *bateas*) filled with water that began to form a lake into which sank the hacienda and then the whole property. It formed the lake that exists today and that is why it is called San Pablo.

THE MAN ON THE WHITE HORSE³⁵

One from here, from Quinchuquí, went to round up cattle, for there is a lot of cattle on Imbabura. When he was halfway up the mountain, there appeared to him a man mounted on a white horse.³⁶ The man said, "Let us go to my house to give

³² Cf. Kauri beliefs about the lord (*apu* or *auki*) of the mountain who lives in a palace under a lake in the mountain and sucks down anyone venturing to take his food floating up from his granaries on the lake (Mishkin, p. 227). Kauri people also refer to four lakes, of different colors.

³³ Written by Francisco Andrango Cabezas of Juan Montalvo, Pichincha Province.

³⁴ Written by Segundo Félix Maldonado, as heard from José María Andrango of Cangahua, Cayambe Canton, Pichincha Province.

³⁵ Told by Segundo Lema, aged nine. This is a true story, said his older sister, Rosita, "Es cierto, no es cuento." It happened seventeen years ago. The man's name was Juan Males.

³⁶ In Peru (Mishkin) and by the Keresan Pueblos the spirit on the white horse is specified as Santiago. Cf. Zapotec, Parsons 2:363, 364; also, for the mounted "devil," *ibid.*, p. 296.

you grain, for I have all kinds of grain." They went. There appeared a large pueblo, as big as Otavalo: a plaza, market, shops, pretty horses, pretty cows, bullocks, dogs, pretty houses, one house covered with gold with a door of gold, with windows of gold, pure gold.³⁷ There were even pretty pastures, pretty alfalfa, standing corn, barley, wheat. There was a great deal of grain on Imbabura; in every room grains of all kinds were stored. In this pretty house lived Father Imbabura (*el taita Imbabura*), the owner of Imbabura (*el dueño del Imbabura*).³⁸

The man from Quinchuquí lived here for one year. Then he returned to his house in Quinchuquí. He stayed there one month and then returned to the mountain. He did not come back. He disappeared. Whether he is alive or dead who knows!

RAINBOW SEDUCES³⁹

A couple had been married a few months. The woman was *simpática* and had let a spirit (*duende*) make love to her. After his conquest he obliged the beloved to eat lizards and frogs cooked at twelve noon, instead of the usual hour, at seven in the morning or at seven in the afternoon.⁴⁰ As the man was a hacienda peon, he breakfasted at seven and went off. The woman cooked for him only; she did not even take a bite. But at supper, they say, the man would say, "*Hija*, daughter, why don't you eat?" They say she would answer, "I'll eat later"; but she did not. This went on for several days until the husband flared up, "What's the matter with you? Am I not worthy of you?" [As she would not eat with him.] Well, this passed. Then he thought he would not go to work but return at midday. When he returned to the kitchen at midday, he found his wife cooking all kinds of repugnant little animals, fat ones because, they say, the broth he saw was pure grease. He said nothing to the woman, but at once he informed the *padrinos* [? wedding godparents] about separating and went to the judges to get a divorce.

Fifteen days after the divorce, on his way to work, he met the woman walking in the country with the *duende*. He waited for them to pass by, then he intercepted them and gave some dirty words and a strong blow (*sopapo*) to the *duende*, who fell into little pieces. His blood transformed into various colors which went up into the sky to form the rainbow (*cuichic*). The blood of the *duende*, they say, was transformed into *cuichic*.

CHIPICHA⁴¹

A man was left a widower with two little children, a boy and girl. He married a widow, who also had two children. This woman treated the man's children very badly and made so much trouble about them that she finally convinced her husband to abandon them (*botar*) in a *quebrada* (ravine) where there was a lot of bears and tigers, a long way from the house. The father took the children there and told them to wait for him while he loaded his wood. They waited for him until five o'clock in the afternoon, when they went to look for him, but they did not find him because he

³⁷ Belief in the existence of mountain palaces is widespread in the Andes (Mishkin, p. 238).

³⁸ Guatemala "owners of the hills" appear dressed like Whites and lure people to their hilltops to kill them (Siegel).

³⁹ Written by Segundo Félix Maldonado as heard from José María Andrango of Cangahua.

⁴⁰ [From this I infer these people were *conciertos* who go early to work and cook when they come back from work.—S. F. M.]

⁴¹ Told by Rosita Lema. See pp. 133-34 for variant.

had sneaked home (*se había regresado escondido*). So they slept all night in the ravine.⁴²

The next day they ate some roots and fruits. Finally, the little girl took her brother on her back and set out to look for people. She walked and walked and came to a straw house, where they found an old woman dressed like an Indian, with long breasts, thrown back one over each shoulder. There was the Chipicha; an old woman of the brush who knows how to eat people, *una vieja de montaña que ha sabido comer gente*.⁴³ She took the little boy into the house to sleep with her and had the little girl stay outside. During the night the little girl heard her little brother screaming and asked what was the matter, and Chipicha answered that she was bathing him and that the little boy was afraid of the water and for that reason was screaming. About four o'clock in the morning Chipicha left the house to go to take care of her potato field and told the little girl to bathe her little brother. The little girl went into the house and called for Manuelito and could not find him anywhere. She looked into the bed and found a lot of blood and bones.⁴⁴ Chipicha came back and asked the little girl to delouse her head. As she was delousing, the little girl discovered at the back of the neck another mouth, with bits of flesh between the teeth. Chipicha had been eating her little brother with this mouth, while she talked to her with the mouth in front. While Chipicha was asleep, the little girl gathered up the bones of her brother, put them on her back, and ran away.⁴⁵ She reached the house

⁴² Version from Cangahua, Cayambe Canton: The stepmother starved the children, spilling food on their chests to make their father think they had eaten. The father hung a large cracked gourd to a thick tree so that, as the wind blew the gourd against the tree, it sounded like an ax—*trac trac trac!* "Papacito is still cutting wood," said the children.

⁴³ "That Chipicha must have been Hibaro (Jibaro)," commented José with a grin. (Cubeo, I would say, but, of course, José has never heard of them.) "Ybaros de montaña, que comen gente," said Rosita, referring to a picture of an Indian with a ring in his nose and feathers on his head, copied by little Lucila from a book in the house of Uncle Segundo. Cannibalism by savages is a familiar idea to José and Rosita, as it was to Garcilasso (see *Royal Commentaries*, I, 55-56, 130, 284). In speaking of burial customs, José told me in derision that there used to be people who did not know how to bury the dead so they ate them; as Garcilasso said, "They buried their dead in their bellies" (*ibid.*, I, 56; II, 276). Secondary burial was a common practice by the *tola* builders, but it would be far fetched to say it pointed to ritual cannibalism, although, of the Caranque (Ibarra), Garcilasso writes that they waged war with their neighbors to take prisoners to kill and eat as "they were very greedy after human flesh" (II, 350).

Neither José nor anybody in Peguche has any lore about the *tolas* (*tula*, which in Quechua, after Rosita, is *pucará*, "hill," "mound"). They know that pottery (*olla de Inca*) has been taken out of these mounds—there is a large group in the neighborhood of Ilumán, Carabuela, and the haciendas of Quinchuquí and Chichá (*kunihu tula*, Rosita)—but, unlike the Whites of Otavalo, they seem not to think of the *tolas* as burial mounds.

⁴⁴ Cangahua: The children see smoke coming out of a *chocita*. Two *Chifichas*. The male says, "I am your father"; the female says, "I am mother for you two." They decided to fatten the children for fifteen days. When they went to bathe and gather wood, *una hada* (a fairy) warned the children not to obey the *Chifichas* and enter the oven to get out the charcoal. The children told the *Chificha* man to get the charcoal out himself. They shut him into the oven, build a fire under it, and run away. *Chificha* woman recaptures them. *These little boys were the two who were to save the ancient world, to free the world of these two monsters (fieras)* [the Pueblo Twins!].

⁴⁵ Cangahua: *Chificha* cooked a lot of human flesh and served herself through both mouths, the one in front and the one at the nape of the neck, *another sort of face*. When the boy saw this one as he was delousing her, fast asleep in the middle of the room, he was frightened and talked to his brother about it. [From here on cf. pp. 133-34.] They locked the door and set the house afire. They heard a loud melancholy voice saying, "No matter that I die burnt, my

of some good people where she stayed and grew up. She married the son of the house.⁴⁶

VARIANT⁴⁷

Once a child (*guagua*) nine or ten years old was walking in front of a straw house, some distance from the tribe. Then an ugly woman of many years, with disheveled hair, dressed like an Indian, with large breasts thrown back over her shoulders, was sitting in the *patio*, who with special kindness, they say, called her: "Shamuylla, ñuca churigua, shamushun, ñuca churigua! Por diopac pallay peles ñuca huamapi! [Come to me, little daughter,⁴⁸ come on, little daughter! For the love of God pick the lice from my head!]" The little girl shyly drew near (*la guambrita*),⁴⁹ they say, and sat down to hunt lice (*peles*) when, as she is about to touch the nape of the neck, the Chificha said not to touch that because it was sore. After this the Chificha, they say, slept as one dead on the lap of the little girl, making herself comfortable for sleep. When the Chificha had fallen asleep as one dead, the little girl, they say, looked at the nape of the neck and what was her surprise to find another face, with a large mouth and crooked tusks full of bits of meat in the crevices of the teeth. Then the little girl, horribly frightened, just quietly removes her from her lap and puts her lying on the ground. Once free, she just raced away. On a flat, they say, they had just finished building a house; toward that the little girl ran, turning to see the Chificha, thinking she might be following behind. She arrived frightened, at last, at that new house, where she told the *mingueros* what happened to her.

After a moment, the *mingueros*, they say, saw at a distance a woman coming at a trot: then they talked over what they should do to the Chificha. When the Chificha arrived, they all received her, they say, with the greatest kindness. Then as the house was just finished and for the pleasure of it, they started to dance, and *chicha*, they say, was not lacking. The Chificha, already a bit drunk, began to dance, throwing back her breasts, and she was stone drunk (earth drunk, *chumada hecha tierra*); they say she just fell "pum," and, they say, she remained snoring in the middle of the room. Then the *mingueros* all silently locked the door and set

spirit will pursue." The children gathered up the little pile of ashes into a sack which they gave to a stutterer who happened along, saying, "Throw this in the middle of the river and be careful you don't go opening it nor go resting along the road, either." Just as he was getting to the bank of the river the silly one opened the sack, and out came numberless insects of all kinds that attacked the poor fool, leaving only his skeleton. This is the origin of all the parasites in the human being.

⁴⁶ In telling this story to Mr. Gorrell, Rosita varied the conclusion: Chipicha's house was a hacienda, full of gold and silver. After Chipicha perished (?), the little girl got all this wealth. Her stepmother was very envious (*envidiosa*) of her stepdaughter's good luck and wanted the same for her own children, so she sent her husband to leave her own children in the same *quebrada*. But when she went to look for them the next day she found nothing but their bones because the bears and tigers had eaten them during the night. "And this goes to show that envy never pays," concluded Rosita. We recognize the familiar Spanish tale of the Good Child and the Bad. The opening episode of the abandoned children is likewise Spanish. In one version of Chificha from Cayambe the same episode is given (see below); in another (see p. 133) it is lacking.

⁴⁷ Written by Segundo Félix Maldonado of Juan Montalvo. This "oldest of tales" is traditional in his family. "My mother says her grandmother's grandmother (*la abuela de la abuela*) knew how to tell it." The tale is familiar, writes Maldonado, to many elderly Indians.

⁴⁸ So translated by Segundo, but *churi* means son.

⁴⁹ *Guambra* means boy or girl in Quechua.

fire to the house. Feeling the fire, the Chificha woke up and wanted to run out, but, as there was no way out, they say she jumped, hopped with screaming cries, thinking someone would save her, but no one came near. Then, seeing that nothing was possible, she said revengefully, they say: "Peles mi tucushca, peque mi tucusha, moras mi tucusha bunga mi tucusha ["I shall make lice, I shall make fleas, I shall make brambles (*moras*, blackberry brambles), I shall make hornets (*moscardón*).]" When the house finished burning, they say, they went to look in the room and found her only a little pile of ashes. This ash they did not leave but gathered it all in a jar, *malita*. Covering it well, they sent one of their number to throw it, jar and all, into an irrigation ditch. But he who went to throw it, not heeding the counsel not to uncover it, on arriving at the ditch uncovered it to see what was inside and had not time for anything because the ashes had turned into lice, fleas, brambles, into hornets,⁵⁰ and all these covered his whole body and left the curious one in bones. Another went to see, and him also they left a pile of bones.⁵¹

They say that since then there have been parasites, hornets, and brambles,⁵² and that before that there were none.

SPIRITS OF MUSIC AND DRUNKENNESS⁵³

The night of Sunday, July 5, for the Octavas of San Pedro we went out to dance in mask, Carlos Mosquera, Leonidas Quimbiulco, another boy, and I, Carlos with a guitar, Leonidas and I with *rondón*.

We made the rounds of several houses, and as the night wore on we went from house to house. In the houses they gave us *chicha*, what they call the *diezmo*, the tithe that they pay from year to year; also they gave us *papas enteras* [whole or unskinned potatoes] with meat, wheat *empanadas*, potato omelets, cooked *chochos* that we call *cajon*, *chocolandas* called *humitas* [cake of maize and sugar, Peru], fried meat and boiled meat.

Having made the rounds of the whole place, we had only the house of Pedro Acero

⁵⁰ Cf. the belief, widespread in South America, that the dead may become insects (Karsten 3:292-93), and the belief of the Canelos Indians that a sorcerer may send a black wasp and *chonta* thorns against his victim (*ibid.*, p. 293).

⁵¹ According to an early Peruvian legend, *sarampión*, "measles" (probably smallpox) reached Quito from Cuzco. A messenger came in a black mantle and gave the Inca Huayna Capac a covered pot (*pputi*) from which, when the Inca opened it, there flew things like butterflies (considered "souls," *wakani*, by Jibaro and other South American tribes [Karsten 4:378]; also Guatemala belief [Siegel, p. 70] and suggested among Zapotec [Parsons 2:321]) or bits of paper which spread abroad until they disappeared. This was the pestilence. Within two days many Inca chieftains died, their faces covered with scabs. The Inca hid himself in a stone house and died in it. "After eight days they took out the body quite dried up, and embalmed it, and took it to Cuzco on a litter, richly dressed and armed as if it had been alive" (Salcamayhua, pp. 110-11). This tale of the origin of epidemic is curiously like that about the plague from which Marcus Aurelius and an untold number of Europeans died. It was said to have started in a military campaign in the East from a chest in a temple looted by the soldiers.

An epidemic of smallpox in 1558 is recorded (Quito, 1573, p. 61). In 1928-29 eastern Ecuador was being ravaged by measles, and Whites were more or less shunned as disease-bringing enemies (Karsten 4:17-72).

⁵² The term for spine in Aymará is *phichaca* or *phacacha* (Nordenskiöld 2:128). Possibly Chificha is Spine Old Woman, and possibly some Aymará colonist from Titicaca introduced the term if not the tale.

Canelos and Rio Napo Indians call a sorcerer *chunta shitac runa*, *chonta*, "[thorn]-throwing man" (Karsten 3:305).

⁵³ Written by Francisco Andrango Cabezas of Juan Montalvo.

to visit, so we headed for this place, and we danced in the corridor. In one of the dances he gave us *chicha*. While we were drinking, Leonidas went out and yelled, "*Compañeros*, run!" We ran out and we heard some pretty music of guitar and *rondín* played in good tempo. A large party of masks appeared to be going along. They were not persons but spirits (*duendes*), the kind that accompany drunken people. One of them went after my companion Carlos, giving him a hand and inviting him into the ravines. I came out in time to see two of them running away in the form of Indians. As we ran after them, they suddenly disappeared.

The next day my companions and another man who ran with us after the *duendes* suffered severe accidents. Nothing happened to me, although I had behaved in the same way that proved so disastrous to them.

Such accidents one cleans with tobacco, eggs, and hot trousers, with rooster and other things; and the man who rubs the things on one must be a strong man.

LED ASTRAY BY A SPIRIT

I54

There was a man who never went to confession or to Mass. ["Runa tonto!" exclaims Rosita.] Then the devil took him to a precipice where he fell down and was killed. ["Misericordia!"] They told the padre he was dead. The padre ordered him to be dragged to the cemetery by a cord around his neck like a dog because he was not a Christian. ["Misericordia!"]

II55

A true case that happened to an Indian woman of Juan Montalvo Parish, called Abelina Cabezas. When this woman was in a drunken condition, the *duende* carried her off. Now I write everything as this woman expressed it in her own words.

She said that she was coming from Cayambe, and this was on a Sunday, as I happen to know myself. She was going along somewhat tipsy, and it was already six-thirty in the afternoon, the moment when she was already close to the house because she lives close to the mill of Chaguarpungo. She was with her husband, Camilo Andrago. She did not feel like taking another step, just as if someone were holding her back, and that with the house only one hundred meters away, and even though her husband wanted to carry her she would not let him and threw herself on the ground. Before her eyes appeared a person who resembled a *señor cura* who was holding her back (he was the *duende*). Now, as the husband was not able to remove his wife, he left her there, and immediately went off to tell the family to help him carry her. Now, what should happen: hardly had the husband gone off when the *duende* carried her off.

The woman was conscious, at the moment when the *duende* was resting, as if in a dream, that she was in Palmira [a hacienda in Juan Montalvo] because the *duende* had become tired and dropped her to rest. Once more he carried her off, but from Palmira to the bridge called La Isla she had no consciousness of how or where she might have walked. The *duende* rested "for two times" (she means for the second time) at the bridge. She was hardly conscious, she knew only that she was scratched by some pampas grass and *chilcas* [a thorny bush] within a ravine halfway up a cliff. Soon the *duende* began to carry her off again; this time she was aware of going with a very kind man who carried her by a pretty and wide path with flowers on either side, and the ground seemed to be of glass. (She says that the path to hell is like that; and to go to heaven it is a path of thorns.)

⁵⁴ Told by Maestro Orgenio Huamáng.

⁵⁵ Written by José Antonio Maldonado of Juan Montalvo.

The *duende* rested for the third time, and she was conscious as if in a dream that she was on a cliff full of *chilcas*, thorns, and rocks, all of which are to be found in that ravine of Yasnán [dividing Cayambe from Juan Montalvo]. She felt that she was wet because she was sunk in water. Shortly before arriving at the Granobles River and in a very deep ravine for the fourth time the *duende* started to carry her off, but here she was not conscious of anything, the beautiful path no longer presented itself; she was conscious of nothing. She was conscious only of the point where she rested for the fifth time. She was conscious that she was in a grassy pasture and that she herself was all wet but not in her full senses; she was conscious merely as in a dream. Soon she lost all her senses, and, when she was conscious again, she was in a field without grass but with water. The eighth time the *duende* carried her off, she heard a cock crow, and at this moment the *duende* dropped her, and she recovered all her senses and realized that she was climbing a gate to pass into the road from a field in front of La Maresca. Here, she said, crying, that the little rooster was from God; that if the rooster had not crowed, they would have taken her, body and soul, to hell; the *duende* was going to carry her to the cave below La Maresca; the *duende* was going to take her, body and soul, to that cave.⁵⁶ She realized that she was dripping wet, scratched by thorns, cut by pampas grass, bruised on the stones—a complete wreck.

On hearing of this, and because it was a novelty, my mother went to visit this woman and later told us everything the woman talked about and how she cried as she talked. The strange thing was that her dress was complete, that she had dropped nothing in the ravine, that the *duende* took care to carry her off with everything without dropping anything along the path.

This woman has been sickly to this day. Her belief is that she has been condemned in her very lifetime, and for this reason she has tried to send for the priest to bless her and to *confess her sins*.

From this story and from like experience by others the Indians believe that the *duende* has affable manners, behaves with kindness, and carries people by an excellent path, until at a moment least expected they realize that they are on a cliff where there is no way up or down, at a highly dangerous point.

III⁵⁷

A few years ago three men went out to look for cattle in the mountain called Sayaro. The sky was completely clear and very beautiful, and the sun so strong that in any direction one could see the snow peaks and ravines and thickets. One of the men, Emiliano Navas, said, "The day is very good." The others answered, "We have had good luck, to be able to go anywhere." One of them said, "Let's go in different directions." So the three separated in search of the cattle.

Emiliano Navas went toward a lake. About five cuerdas from the lake he saw some pretty ducks. He thought, "I'll go in that direction to see if I can catch at least one." When he was getting close, about one cuadra from the lake, there ap-

⁵⁶ Although this cave is not ancient but formed recently through an irrigation or power project, it is believed to be the haunt of a spirit. In it is a pool, and sunlight on the water dripping through the roof refracts the colors of the rainbow. Montalveño laborers once refused to clear the entrance of underbrush (Gorrell). See Appendix, p. 215, for another account of this place and its spirit, a water spirit. The wet condition of Abelina also suggests that her kidnapper is of the water.

⁵⁷ Based on account written by Francisco Andrango Cabezas.

peared a beautiful white *macho*⁵⁸ that was a deer.⁵⁹ When Navas drew closer, the *macho* did not move. As Navas was half-blinking at the sight, the *macho* disappeared completely and a black automobile appeared circling the shore of the lake.⁶⁰ "What *patrón* may have come in this car?" said Navas. As the car came closer to him, he saw through the window of the car that it was the devil who was driving and that he had horns on his head. At that moment Navas became unconscious.

When the other companions met at the place agreed upon, Navas did not appear. The others went on to the hut where they always slept. At nighttime, when Navas still did not appear, they thought: "Maybe Navas has gone home." The next day the companions came down to their houses and as soon as they arrived inquired for Navas. They answered that he had not arrived yet. They let two or three days pass, and still he did not appear. Then the two companions and some others who wanted to go along set a day to search for him.

Meanwhile the devil carried Navas in the air past hills, ravines, thickets, and three immense rivers. At dawn Navas came to and found himself in a little hole in an enormous cliff, and a dog was at his side. He lost his senses again; then in full daylight he went wherever the devil took him. About midday he passed through a great river, not swimming but dragging painfully on the rocks. Night came, and at dawn of the next day he came to again and saw that he had been sleeping on top of a tree. Angry and shivering with cold, he saw that he was accompanied by a dog and a big man with a little green stick. From that moment he was conscious of nothing until the next day, when he found himself in the mountain hut. From there he came down with all his senses to where those who were looking for him met him. They found him perfectly healthy, but he was so frightened that he kept glancing around from one side to the other until he arrived at the house. All of them were afraid, and immediately they took him to Ibarra to be blessed, and this way they had him sound again.

MULE-WOMEN⁶¹

An *urucama*, caretaker of hacienda cattle in the *páramo*, who made his rounds continually, found that a black bull had disappeared. He notified his *patrón*. The *patrón* said, "Look for him right there. He may be there or he may have died." The herder looked for some days, then returned to the *patrón*. The *patrón* said, "You as caretaker will deliver to me the lost little bull at a trot. I am not responsible. It is for that I have placed one there to be responsible to me."

Fifteen days passed as he searched. On the sixteenth day on a *páramo* far off he saw a man in a green suit. "What *patrón* may have come to the *páramo*?" He drew nearer, he saluted, "Buenos días, *patrón*!" Green Suit responded, "Don't call me *patrón*, call me friend. What are you doing around here?"

"Friend, I am in search of a black little bull belonging to my *patrón*; it has been lost for fifteen days."

"For fifteen days the bull has been in my hacienda. Let us go there so you may identify him and take him away." Then the herder was happy.

After walking some distance, they arrived at a great waterfall (*paccha*). Green

⁵⁸ Male, but refers commonly to a mule (Gorrell).

⁵⁹ The deer, we recall, was a magic animal in early Ecuador, as elsewhere in South America (Karsten 3:273).

⁶⁰ In another version the car ran on the surface of the lake (Gorrell).

⁶¹ Written by Francisco Andrango Cabezas.

Suit⁶² said, "On passing by here, you must shut your eyes." As the herder wanted to find the bull and not get into debt in the hacienda and not appear badly in the eyes of the *patrón*, he shut his eyes on passing by this spring. Then he realized that he might fall into the spring, and he opened his eyes. He found himself walking in another place unknown to him; he found himself entering a populous hacienda and reaching a pasture. Green Suit said, "There is that bull; look at it."

"My friend, it is the same."

"Well, do you want to take the bull today?"

"Yes, my friend."

"Well, but you are going to do an *yanapa* (exchange favor) on taking the bull away."

"What is it I am to do?"

"Pass thirty *quintals* of lime to another hacienda."

"Anything, so you give the little bull up to me. I'll do anything, my friend." Then Green Suit said, "Go bring the mules that are back there." The herder went looking for the mules but found nothing. "They are right down there, look carefully," said Green Suit. The herder returned to look for the mules and found nothing; he saw only some naked women bathing. "Those are they," said Green Suit. "Yell to them '*mulas putas*' and see how they come running." Frightened, the herder yelled, "*Mulas putas!*" and they came out running. Green Suit said, "Just like that without anything else one makes them carry." The herder loaded them all and went on the trip. On the road one of the mules no longer managed to carry the load, and the herder beat it as Green Suit had ordered. In beating it, he broke the side of the eye. Seeing that the mule was useless, the herder went off with the other loads, leaving it behind. After leaving the loads of lime, the herder reported that one of the mules was hurt in the eye when he beat her. Green Suit answered, "You have done well, my friend, and now take your little bull."

"Many thanks, my friend," answered the herder. He went off with the little bull. Very happy, he arrived at his house and then he went to visit a *comadre* who had served as *amiga de vida* (living companion) or as a *muchacha de cama* (bedfellow). On arriving, he saw that his friend had her eye burst. It was not a mule whose eye had been burst but his own friend's.

THE GIRL WHO TURNED INTO A MULE⁶³

In Colombia there was a girl who was behaving very badly, and her mother warned her against continuing with her lover. The girl had a bad temper and took a stick and beat her mother and left home. Some people walking considerably ahead of her saw a flash of lightning and heard thunder and turned around to see where it had struck. They saw the girl sinking slowly into the ground, and crying out that God was punishing her for the way she treated her mother. She begged these people to run for her mother so that she might forgive her. When the mother arrived, the girl had sunk into the ground as far as the waist. The mother said that in so far as it was in her power she would forgive her and did forgive her but that God would

⁶² My term. The author writes "man," and the two men get confused. Green appears to be characteristic for spirits (see Appen., p. 215).

⁶³ Told by Rosita Lema and recorded by Juan L. Gorrell. The conclusion of this tale has a decidedly Indian flavor, and I surmise a made-over myth or tale. In the Sipaya myth the girl who detects her incestuous brother by the well-known paint trick (Eskimo, Taos Pueblo, Guaraní, Sipaya) is hurled down from the sky by her brother and changes into a tapir (Lowie, p. 421).

not forgive her so easily and that a priest must be sent for. By the time the priest had arrived with his book, the girl had sunk completely into the ground. After the priest had pronounced forgiveness, the mother thrust her hand into the ground to grab what should have been the girl's shoulder. Instead she found that she had taken hold of a rein, and she pulled out, not her daughter, but a mule with headstall and reins. Her daughter had turned into a mule, and she went off to eat alfalfa and maize.

MAN-FOX ("RUNA ATOC")

I⁶⁴

A man who wanted to bewitch others from envy used to sing day after day for witchcraft, but he was unable to accomplish anything, so he decided to go to the Oriente to satisfy his unnatural heart. On walking many days alone with his bad heart, he arrived and found a wild Indian (*indio salvaje*) who was a sorcerer (*hechicero*). Taking him some food and clothes as a present, he begged him to do evil to a person he indicated. The wild Indian of the Oriente answered, "This I cannot do because our God does not order it." The man wanted to give a drink to the sorcerer, but the sorcerer would not take it. The man persisted, and, on seeing him so set, the sorcerer turned him into a fox (*atoc*)⁶⁵ and sent him to wander wherever he might go for a year.

The man-fox went back to his people but not to the houses, only to the ravines where he cried like a fox and like a mule. Half his body was mule and half human, and he would appear in different forms. He fed on the meat of animals and, if he found them, on people. After a year the wild Indians, they say, rounded him up and turned him back into a human being. Then the poor man returned to his house no better off, but rather worse off. And he died without having even a pair of pants to his backsides or anything to eat. This happened to him for having been envious of his neighbors.

II⁶⁶

In the hacienda of Santo Domingo thirty-five years ago an Indian by the name of Camilo Farinango went to the Oriente to learn witchcraft (*hechichería*) with the Jíbaros, that he, too, might learn how to cure illnesses.

But this Camilo Farinango fell in love with an Oriente Indian (Yumba), and, on knowing this, the husband of the woman cursed (*maldice*) Camilo Farinango that he should turn into a wolf in punishment for having betrayed the Jíbaro woman. Once cursed, the man had to come to his own land (*país*), and my father tells that he turned into a fox every eight or fifteen days, into a ferocious animal that made the dogs and other animals tremble with fear and that went screeching (*chillando*) along the road from La Maresca to Cayambe and elsewhere and that pursued the animals, especially sheep.

One night, my father tells, the man-fox, *runa ato*, passed by the house and on hearing the screeching the little dog of the house ran out to bark. On seeing such a ferocious animal, the dog was terribly frightened. They found him hiding in a pasture and trembling from fear. On seeing his master, the dog drew close, trembling from fear, but on approaching the house the dog held back. All said that by night the *runa ato* walks (*anda*).

⁶⁴ Written by Francisco Andrango Cabezas.

⁶⁵ Red with a long tail, a chicken thief, *atoj*, a fox (Middendorf), but Cabezas and Rosa Lema both translate in Spanish, *lobo*, "wolf."

⁶⁶ Written by José Antonio Maldonado. "A true story" told him by his father.

The curious thing was that, when he saw any person, immediately from a fox he turned himself into a rock, into *chikos*, a lump of earth, or into anything and disappeared. Occasionally, they tried to trap him into taking a sheep; but, when the owner followed, immediately from a fox he converted himself into a rock or a *chilco* and disappeared. He was not a fox every day, but every eight or fifteen days he turned into one, for five or eight hours, according to how the Yumbo [*Jibaro*] had bewitched him. It was to be a punishment for *five* years.

When the man was not a fox, he conversed, and Papá says that he had shifty eyes, a little frightened, and he talked explosively. He would talk a little and then move on. He had no fixed dwelling; he was a wanderer. He had a monstrous head, and his extremities were well developed with terrible claws; he was a real monster.

This lasted for five years, and then the man returned to the Oriente so that the same Yumbo might return him to what he was before. A little while after he had gone to the Oriente, they heard, he died.

This is all that is told about the *runa ato*, and it is the truth because my father and many others tell it the same way.

HOW HAWK IS PAID⁶⁷

In times and years back of years, they tell until today that in (the times of) our grandfathers and back grandfathers (*y atrás abuelos*) back to the first forebears the hawk talked and could express himself. One of our grandfathers found himself in need of money; he hadn't a single *medio*. Then our grandfather asked Hawk to make him a loan for a month. Hawk made the loan. When the day arrived for repayment, Hawk went to ask for the *medio* from our grandfather. He said that just then he did not have the *medio* and begged him to wait. So Hawk said, "I'll wait for just a few days, because by then you will have it. I too need it because I am going to do some business and that money is necessary to me." Later, Hawk kept on asking for the money. Finally, because Hawk kept following him, asking him to pay up, our grandfather said, "Because I can't find the *medio*, better I pay with one of my children (*mas bien pagaré con uno de mis hijitos*)." But before he paid, our grandfather died, and for this reason, they say, until today the hawk takes off chickens in repayment.

FROG QUARRELS WITH BEETLE OLD MAN⁶⁸

Frog (*Sapo*) and Rat (*Okucha*) wanted to dance. Rat made a new house for Frog because Rat is the master house-maker (*Q. lani*).⁶⁹ Frog is the houseowner (*dueño de casa*). They finished the new house and danced fandango, Frog with Rat. Then they got drunk. Beetle (*Q. calso*) Old Man came to visit them in their new house. They began to fight, Frog with Beetle Old Man. Beetle Old Man asked Frog, "Is it going to rain?" Frog got rough (*se pone bravo*) and answered, "Why do you want to know?" Then Beetle got rough. "Why are you getting rough, *Bocón* (Big Mouth)?" he said. "Why don't you want to tell me, *Ojón* (Big Eyes)? Why don't you want to tell me if it is going to rain, *Barrigón* (Big Belly)? You are bad." Frog answered, "I don't know, *Bolsa de caca* (Bag-of-dung)."

⁶⁷ Written by Francisco Andrango Cabezas.

⁶⁸ Told by Rosita Lema.

⁶⁹ An obsolete term for thatched house-maker—"Inca talk."

They got rough and so they became enemies. From this, because Beetle Old Man fought with Frog, the waters dried up and Beetle Old Man died.⁷⁰

BUZZARD ("GALLINAZO")⁷²

They say that a buzzard was going, very handsome, to the feast of Ibarra and a man greeted him with: "Maimanta ringi, adonde va? (Where are you going?)." Arrogantly and rudely, Buzzard answered, "Villa fiestaman (To the *fiesta* of Ibarra)." On his return from Ibarra, he met on the road the same man, who greeted him with, "Maimanta shamungui? (Where do you come from?)." Buzzard, they say, sick with *mal aire* of Ibarra, rejoined very sadly, "Villa fiestamanta (From the *fiesta* of Ibarra)."

BEAR OLD MAN STEALS A WOMAN⁷³

A married woman who was menstruating⁷³ went to the mountain to gather wood. A bear came after her. She climbed a tree, but the bear climbed up, put his arms around her, and dragged her down. (It is bad for a menstruant to go to the mountain. That is why the bear got her, stole her.)⁷⁴

The bear carried her to his house. In a few days she gave birth to three children. One was like its mother (*mama*); two were bear children (*guagua oso*). The bear brought her all the fruits of the mountain. Then he stole a whole beef from the hacienda. To maintain the woman he stole wheat, lentils, *moroch*, maize.

After a time, when the bear was out pilfering, the woman came out of the cave, leaving the children behind, and ran away to a family to hide from the bear. Within an hour the old bear came back to the cave. With all the children he went after the woman. The children were crying for their mother. The family where the woman was came out to kill Bear Old Man (*osu ruku*) and the children. The bear children cried, "Why do you kill me? Don't kill me. I have come only to get my mother." Nevertheless, they killed them. The little bears they buried; Bear Old Man they threw into Rio Grande.

Bear Old Man revived in the water and went back to the mountain. He summoned all the other bears to join him and kill the family where the woman was. The bears came like flies, male and female, a world of bears.⁷⁵ They fought with the servants of the hacienda. The servants, men and women, fought with guns and

⁷⁰ It was explained that the beetle lives off wet earth; also that Frog dried up the waters. Among the Tapirape of central Brazil the dead may become reincarnated in frog, toad, or other creatures. Toad is the spirit of a chief (Wagley 1:258).

⁷² Written by José Antonio Maldonado. Familiar to every Indian. It makes little sense unless it refers to the bad airs from the great slaughter of the Lake of Blood, too much even for the great scavenger to stomach or to resist.

⁷³ This "cuento de oso," bear story, was told by Rosita Lema, who heard it from an "uncle" of her father before she was married.

⁷⁴ *Se enferma de mes con el sangre.*

⁷⁵ If a Napo or Canelos menstruant goes alone into the forest, she may meet a *supai*, a demon, who will seduce her. She will give birth to a *supai guagua*, demon child, monstrous with hair over his body, or defective in some way. The demon father would come after his child, so the child is buried alive (Karsten 1:69). Menstruants who go into a canoe or even approach the river will be killed (?) by the anaconda, it is believed by the Cubeo of southwestern Colombia, and after parturition the anaconda threatens the family (Goldman, p. 246).

⁷⁶ Cf. Jibaro tradition about tribal organization and warmaking among the animals (Karsten 3:284).

axes, with stones, with sticks, with their fists. The bears fought with the sticks of the mountains. A lot were killed on both sides, but the people defeated the bears. They beat Bear Old Man on the belly, so he got a lot of straw and stuffed it into his belly and felt no pain. He had five wounds, and into all of them he put some straw. Bear Old Man said, "I'll not die from the wounds you give me with sticks and your fists, but if you hit me in the forehead with an ax, I'll die." On hearing this, they gave it to him on the forehead with an ax. Then he fell over on his back and died. Bear Old Man. Seeing him lying there dead, the other bears fled to the mountain. They burned up Bear Old Man with piles of straw.

The body of the woman was covered with hair, like a bear. They burned off the hair, and then they took the woman to church to be baptized again.⁷⁶ She lived again with her husband.

THE LADY AND THE CAT⁷⁷

A lady was married. She never knew how to bring up a child. Her husband died; she was left a widow. She had a cat. With him she lived. She treated him like a husband. She was very fond of him. She fed him well, she gave him milk, she gave him meat. The lady was rich, but she gave so much to the cat that she became poor. She sold her house; she sold her land to maintain the cat. She had enough money, but she spent it all. She became so poor she could not feed the cat. The cat was without milk or meat and went wild. The lady was accustomed to sleep in the same bed with the cat, like a husband. The cat tempted the lady. The cat and the lady committed sin because he was the devil. But, when the lady no longer fed him, the cat became capricious and did not want to sleep with her any more. The lady called to the cat to come and sleep with her. "Why don't you want to sleep with me?" The cat would not come, and the lady was left to sleep alone. The cat went wild and left the house. The lady followed, searching for him. She saw a fire⁷⁸ coming from Imbabura. It appeared like a whirlwind. Frightened by this fire, she returned to her house and went to bed and slept. The cat returned and went to bed with the lady, but she did not know it because she was sound asleep. Then the cat twisted his tail around the lady's neck and strangled her.

Since the lady had no family she lay there dead until midday when a *comadre* came to call. Noticing that the lady had not gone out, the *comadre* came to see her and found her abed. "Comadre! Comadre!" she called, "get up, it is day." The lady did not answer as she was dead. The *comadre* began to carry on, calling to the people, "The lady is dead! Come and see!" People came to see why she was dead. The cat stood alongside the lady. They wanted to drive the cat away, but the cat would not move. They went to the church to inform the padre. The padre came with his book to pray, to drive out the devil, but the cat would not leave. (It was a black cat, very black with red eyes and red mouth.) So the padre went to the school to fetch the children to recite the litany. The children prayed in the name of Our Lord. Then the cat burst like a clap of thunder, like a bomb (*camareta*). He dis-

⁷⁶ Yaqui who have been impersonating Fariseos go through a baptismal rite. Rebaptism was forbidden in Yucatan (Landa, p. 157). This idea of rebaptism for purification from pagan contamination is an early Christian one. Christians among the Mongols would not drink mare's milk, the common Mongolian drink, for "they consider themselves to be no longer Christians if they drink it, and the priests have to bring them back into the fold as if they had denied the faith of Christ" (Rubruck, p. 87), i.e., they had to be rebaptized.

⁷⁷ Told by Rosita Lema.

⁷⁸ Cf. association between fire and cat at Cayambe (Appen. p. 205).

appeared; he vanished. Like a wind the cat left the room, and none knew whither he went.

The padre ordered them not to bury the lady in the cemetery but to cast her away in the ravine because she was a companion to a cat that was the devil. They were to drag her by a cord around the neck, like a dead dog.

This really happened. It happened twenty years ago at a pueblo called Atun-taqui (near Ibarra).

A WITCH DIES⁷⁹

A fine witch⁸⁰ died at Punto de Jukut. Then they held a wake, praying with a *maitro* and a lot of people. A lot of the family were present at the prayer wake (*velorio rezado*). The last day, the eve of the burial, during the middle of the night, after the prayers, there was a windstorm. Soon all the candles were put out by the wind. The family could not light the candles until they tried three times. They stayed in the dark. For an hour the wind would not let them light the candles. Then they found the dead man with arms outstretched and mouth open,⁸¹ without tongue. The devils had taken out the tongue. ["Misericordia!" exclaims Rosita.]

In the morning they put the dead man into the coffin to carry to the cemetery. On the road to the cemetery they passed over a bridge. On the other side the coffin felt light. They tapped on it. It sounded hollow. They opened the coffin. There was no corpse in it. The devils⁸² had taken him away.

They arrived at the church for a good singing Mass (*misal cantada*). They entered the church with the empty coffin. They were not able to reach the priest to tell him what had happened. So for the empty coffin a good Mass was said, as the padre did not know about it. [Laughter.] He went along with them to the cemetery and blessed the grave with holy water (*agua bendita*). The witch, soul and body (*alma con todo el cuerpo*), was lost.

A BAD DEATH⁸³

I

My great-grandparents, also my mother's father-in-law, told my mother that many years ago a woman died, Petrona Manangón, who had done many evil deeds. At the moment of death the devils harassed her to take her off, body and soul. All the family and neighbors and relatives were present at the moment of death, and, they say, just as she was in her death throes, the devils started to fly into the *patio* over the roof of the house and into the room. Beating their wings, they put out the light, and a world of cats, they say, miaowed. The people were so frightened they were not able to go outside. Full of fear, they set to reciting the whole rosary, but, they say, the devils did not leave. The most frightful thing for the people present was that they were not able to talk, from fright. The corpse was still in the bed, because from fear they had not been able to carry it to the table. They had a lot of candles lighted and, they say, a black cat was seen lying on the corpse. That, they say, was the *diablo mayor*, the chief devil. Among the devils, they say, were several

⁷⁹ Told in Peguche by Orgenio Huamáng, *maestro de capilla* from Riobamba and Ibarra.

⁸⁰ *Una bruja fina*, but the reference is to a male.

⁸¹ The narrator enacts this.

⁸² Possibly river spirits, owners of the river (see p. 215).

⁸³ Written by José Antonio Maldonado.

vultures,⁸⁴ who put out the lights. The people remained almost dead from fear in the dark room for a few moments until one of them, quite brave, made a light. Imagine their surprise when they no longer found the corpse in the bed; it had disappeared, body and soul.⁸⁵

Many such cases of a bad death (*una mala muerte*) have occurred in connection with a person who has done an evil to another person or committed adultery (*contraen amores falsos entre par de casados*) or carried on a love affair with a *compadre*. For this reason they are right in believing in devils and in hell.

II⁸⁶

There was a married older woman, *concierta*, in a hacienda called Ancholac who with her husband adopted an infant boy and brought him up "as if he were a son of her own stomach." When the boy she had reared was grown, "she took him as a husband and looked upon her own husband as a stranger who was nothing to her although he was a young man" and behaved himself well. Years passed and death came suddenly to this bad woman.

As the house was small and far from the village, they could not hold the wake (*velar*) there, so they asked for lodging in the house of friends in the parish of Juan Montalvo.

During the wake about eleven or twelve at night at the top of the roof there was a noise as if there were two birds calling *cuscungo*, as if they were kicking each other and rolling around and screeching loudly. Also they heard some cats crying and rolling and rolling, all around the house. Of the people who were accompanying, some were awake and others sound asleep. They woke them up. Some gave prayers to the saints and clamored as loud as they could. All knelt down in prayer, some more than others. A man dressed in black came in. He said he was the overseer (*capataz mayor*) or chief devil (*diablo mayor*), and behind him came in some black tomcats and some tabby cats with eyes that looked like red flames of charcoal. The chief devil put out the light of the candles and dragged out the dead woman, and in the darkness the company acted as if they had taken narcotics, and trembled from fright. One of them had the courage to light some matches, and they saw that the devils were dragging the dead woman out to the street. One of the company ran out to take the dead woman from the hands of the devils; others accompanied him, men and women, taking prints and saints and praying and throwing medals and throwing rosaries, and in this way they were able to get the dead woman away from the devils and the cats. They say they screamed as she was taken from them, and that then they disappeared. This happened, they say, because the woman had amused herself with the boy she had raised as a son.

THE ROBBER OF TIOPULLO⁸⁷

A robber lived on the mountain called Tiopullo.⁸⁸ He had a lot of money. He could kill thirty persons, forty persons, at a time. He killed a woman who was very

⁸⁴ In Jibaro opinion the vulture is one of the demoniacal birds (Karsten 4:377-78). The souls of dead women are particularly incarnated in the owl (*ibid.*, p. 378).

⁸⁵ Among Tapirape the dead who have become incarnate in beasts and birds may cluster around a bier to carry off the soul as soon as the body is buried (Wagley 1:258). Jibaro belief also.

⁸⁶ Based on an account written by Francisco Andrango Cabezas.

⁸⁷ Told by Rosita Lema.

⁸⁸ Near Quito.

good, very generous, very fat. He abducted her into a cave and cut off her legs at the knees.

They sent a troop of soldiers to capture this robber. Two or three persons could not get him, so they sent the troop. They took the robber to Quito. There he said he had killed ten thousand persons. Why had he killed so many, the police asked the robber. "First I stole a chicken, then I stole a pig, then I stole a bullock, then I robbed a house, then a person, then I went to a secret place to deposit the money and goods. From there I went out to kill, and since then I have had the habit of killing."

Then they imprisoned him three nights, three days, and every hour they made him confess to a padre. At the last confession they killed him, by shooting. Putting him in the middle of the plaza, they shot him. After he died the doctors examined him to see what was in his heart. From his heart came out a black cat this size [outspread arms]. The eyes were all fire, the tongue was fire. The cat jumped into the mouth of one of the men there and went into his heart.⁸⁹ This man they did not kill but took him to the church, where the padre prayed for him. He burst open and the cat vanished. It was a devil, wasn't it? That's the end. Frightful, no? It frightens me.

THREE ROBBERS⁹⁰

At Otavalo they caught three robbers, Remachi, Cepeda, and Minde (Mendez), the first two, Indian, the third, a Cholo. They had killed a man on the road near La Compañía.⁹¹ After they caught the men they sent the Cholo to Quito, and they killed the Indians in the plaza at Otavalo. There was a crowd to look on. First they crucified them, and then the soldiers shot them. It took three shots [volleys] to kill them.

With the Cholo they took to Quito they took members of his family and imprisoned them. Later these people returned to their home on Black Mountain, at the lake. Natalia Mendez, a daughter is still living. The whole family knew how to eat people and to sell human flesh.

Yes, there are robbers today, Indians; but they no longer kill people. They steal cattle and they rob houses. So we do not leave our houses unlocked.

ADAM AND EVE⁹²

Our Lord aroused (*ha puesto*) Adán first. He was alone; there were no other people. Then Our Lord aroused the lady, Mother (*mama*) Eva, companion to Adán. They were without clothes, naked. They walked in Our Lord's orchard. In the middle of the garden they found a fruit forbidden by Our Lord. In this fruit there was a serpent. He tempted them, he made them eat, he made them sin through

⁸⁹ The idea of opening the body to see what was in the heart and the idea that an evil creature might enter by the mouth and lodge in the heart seem Indian; they are identical with Pueblo Indian notions. The fiery black cat of this tale and the following appears to be derived from European witchcraft. On the other hand, in contemporary Peruvian belief a wildcat (*koa*, same for domestic cat), striped black and about five feet long, lives on a mountain peak and controls hail and the lightning which causes disease (Mishkin).

⁹⁰ Told by José Ruis. His mother told him about the execution which she witnessed.

⁹¹ See p. 118.

⁹² Told first by Maestro Orgenio Huamáng but not recorded, then told as recorded by Rosita Lema, who said she knew the story before she heard it from the *maestro*. The story was told when I asked for a story about how the world and people began. Apparently there is no Indian origin myth. Nor is there any among Jibaro (Karsten 4: 503).

eating the fruit. Now they knew they had no clothes. They were ashamed. They gathered some fruit leaves and covered themselves.

One afternoon Our Lord came down. He said, "Adán, Eva, come here! How do you know you have no clothes? Why are you ashamed? Why are you covered with leaves?" Then Adán answered, saying, "Eva ate and gave me to eat also. Eva went to the middle of the garden. There the serpent tricked her into eating." Then Our Lord said to Eva, scolding her, "And why did you eat that fruit? I told you not to eat it. You disobeyed in eating it. Why did you eat it? I told you never to eat it because it is a sin. Because you ate the fruit you have to suffer, you have to suffer blood [menstrual]. You have to suffer with your husband because you were disobedient. You have to suffer bearing children. You have to die," said Our Lord. With this benediction⁹³ he said, "You have to languish in this world, going on having a lot of children (*tiene que dejar en este mundo llegando de tener bastante*⁹⁴ *hijo*)." To Adán Our Lord said, "Adán, why did you eat that forbidden fruit? You have been disobedient. You ate; you fell into sin. From now on you have to live in pain, sweating for people. You have to work to be able to maintain your family." This was the benediction Our Lord gave to Adán. And so on account of Adán, on account of Eva, we are the sons of Adán, we are the daughters of Eva.

[The climax of the *maestro's* version was different]: When Our Lord came down, Adán was eating the rest of the fruit and a piece stuck in his throat. Because of Adán's sin, men have carried it [Adam's apple] in their throat ever since. Women do not have it—only men.

THE JESUS CHILD LAYS A CURSE⁹⁵

The Virgin was walking along with the child Jesus. They came to a house. In this house a lady was making dough. The lady had two children, a girl and a boy. They sat down the little Jesus in the corridor. The Virgin entered the room to help make the bread. The children began to play with the child Jesus. Then they began to fight Jesus with a stick of this size [about five inches long]. The stick went into the eyes of the child Jesus. Hearing Jesus crying, the lady said, "With these little ones (*chiquillo*) I can do nothing!" She put her children into another room. The Virgin left with the little child. Then the lady went to take out her children and opened the door, saying, "Come out, *chiquilla*, *chiquillo*."⁹⁶ Instead of the children out came an immense sow and an immense pig.⁹⁷ The lady was frightened. "Why do my children (*guaguas*) come out pigs?" Said the pig, "You called *chiquilla*, *chiquillo*, and through the blessing [curse] of Jesus *chiquilla*, *chiquillo* [pigs] we became." And so [still]⁹⁸ today to call a pig to feed it people say, "*Chiquillo! Chiquillo! Chiquillo!*"⁹⁹

⁹³ *Bendición* (?) meaning *maldición*, "curse." This may be only a verbal confusion, and yet from the Christian point of view whatever Our Lord does should be accounted a blessing.

⁹⁴ Local usage: a lot, many.

⁹⁵ Told by Segundo Lema.

⁹⁶ The call to pigs (see below).

⁹⁷ See Appendix, p. 204, for the abandoned unbaptized bastard turning pig.

⁹⁸ Obviously the time sequence or the causal relationship was confused by the little narrator.

⁹⁹ Pigs were called *cuchi* in Quechua by post-Conquest Peruvians because they heard the Spaniards say *coche, coche* when they called them (Garcilasso, II, 475). See Appendix, p. 198.

JESUCRISTO ORDAINS¹⁰⁰

One time in the month of harvests, they say, all the grains were gathered in one place, as if in a trough. And all living beings were gathered there. Then, they say, Jesucristo came to give to each being the proper grain: potatoes for the man, maize for the woman, *quinoa*, *millocos*, and *máshua* for the children, wheat and barley for the dogs. But Dog said to Jesucristo, "The wheat and barley I cannot eat. I go on four feet, how can I work and harvest?" Then, they say, Jesucristo answered, "What you say is true. But let me say this. You can share with man who will be your master and give you food of different kinds. This food you will like, and you will help man in any way you can."

"Good," said Dog, "I shall be at man's disposal."

Afterward a little mouse presented himself and, they say, he said to Jesucristo, "I will open the sepulcher so you may get out when the enemies kill you and bury you." Jesucristo said, "If you do me this favor, you shall live forever as the master of every grain and hidden almost always in the house of man."

Afterward, they say, all the winged animals presented themselves from the tiniest fly to the condor, king of the birds, that anciently, they say, had three legs to be able to walk on the ground. These said to Jesucristo, "We want to live in the air where there is no danger, no enemies to bother us." Jesucristo said, "I will do this for you: the two hands (legs) shall form wings, the third shall form two feet. Then you can be of the air and of the earth. You shall eat what you wish, without anyone protesting."

This is how it was all arranged.

DEVIL BRIDEGROOM¹⁰¹

All things, it seems, have their owner, however small.

In Aloag, a village-parish in the canton of Machachi there lived a girl, *muy simpática*. She admired herself, her enchanting face and body, and she was very haughty. Many were interested in her, but she deprecated them all. Her parents wanted her to get married, but no youth in the village pleased her. Then on a certain occasion there appeared a boy such as she desired, and at once she accepted him. The parents allowed him into the house, he made his *gastos* (expenses), his *pedidos*. The wedding day arrived. They were married first civilly and then in the church. Gratified that the girl was married to one she desired, the parents made many preparations. Returning from the church, they made a great *boda* in the house, with unlimited *chicha*. They had a good harpist. From the pleasure they felt, all danced all the time.

The bride had a little brother standing between his father's legs. Like all especially intelligent children, he let nothing escape his eyes and kept looking all around the room and at the feet of the dancers. He saw that the groom's feet were turned backward and were just the same as the feet of a duck. The child was stirred; he thought the groom was not really a man, and, as he watched, he felt the house was moving, toward the mountain El Corazón. At once the child (*guagua*) told his father, who was surprised and *hizo gente*, made a great row. All the people got up, and at this the

¹⁰⁰ Written by Segundo Félix Maldonado as heard from José María Andrango. Jesus in the Indian role of culture-hero transformer!

¹⁰¹ Written by Segundo Félix Maldonado as heard from José María Andrango. "Marriage with a *duende*," Segundo Félix calls the tale which is generally known by the title I have given it. This version of the familiar Negro and European tale is well acculturated.

duende fled with his bride. It was midnight, twelve o'clock, and but for the child they would all have gone, house and all. They remained *accidentados* (? overcome). The next day they found that the house had been on the edge of a precipice.

The *novios*, they say, on rare nights go out to a ravine to bathe, with a golden gourd.

BRIARS FOR BEANS: A STONE FOR A GOAT¹⁰²

Parlasha atupa kwintuta, tell a little tale of Fox.¹⁰³ Let us follow a tale of old things in the life of Fox, a practical joke.

Fox was married. The wife of Fox was pregnant, and Fox Old Man (*atu ruku*) went out to look for sustenance for his wife, for food for the woman. He went into the highlands to look for beans of all kinds. He spent a day looking for them. Then in the afternoon, returning to the house where the woman was, he met a nephew (a rabbit). The nephew said to him, "Uncle, I will help you carry home." Then Fox said, "All right, dear nephew, help me. Pity me! I am working this way because my wife is sick. Please help me because you are my nephew."

"Yes, uncle. You are my dear uncle. I am sorry I have to help you because your wife is very wild; for that reason I do not wish to go up to your house." Then the rabbit loaded himself, helping his uncle. The rabbit went ahead, and the fox behind, being old. Then the rabbit put briars in place of the beans in the loaf before Fox caught up with him. Fox got tired catching up with him. Then he said, "Take it, uncle. I have helped you enough. Take your load. It is near your house. Whenever you wish you can reach your house. Your wife will be fretting. Now I give you your load. Goodbye, uncle."

"Thanks, nephew. Tomorrow let us meet again for help at the same hour." Then he said goodbye. Fox went to his house. Then he handed over the load to his wife. The woman was glad to get the beans he said he brought. She opened the load. In it were only mountain briars. Then she quarreled with Fox Old Man saying, "Why do you bring only briars? You come set on a practical joke." Fox Old Man answered, "It is not my fault. I brought only beans. That nephew helped me carry them. He played me this joke."

Fox Old Man went out again to look for a living. He met Rabbit again. He got mad against Rabbit. Rabbit greeted him in a kindly way. Fox Old Man got mad, saying, "Why did you play me this joke? Because of you I quarreled with my wife. What thanks you give me, nephew dear! From now on I have no friendship for you. I don't like you." Then Rabbit answered, "Why, uncle, you are my own uncle. I said nothing to you. Better we both go looking for a living. Better I give you a lamb I have in my house. Let me go and give it," said Rabbit. And Fox Old Man believed him. So they made good day (? shook hands). Then they went to Rabbit's house. Before arriving at the house of Rabbit, Rabbit said, "Wait here. I am going to bring you a pretty lamb and take care not to go to get it on the other side." Fox Old Man believed him. Then instead of sending him down a lamb, from the top of a hill Rabbit sent down a big stone. Fox Old Man, thinking it a lamb, was anxious to get it. He stood ready to catch it, thinking it was a lamb. It was not a lamb; it was a big stone. The stone killed Fox Old Man.

¹⁰² Told by Rosita Lema. Heard from her mother's mother and from her father's aunt.

¹⁰³ *Atu (atoc)*, "fox," but translated *lobo* or *el lobo*, "wolf."

CHAPTER IX

IN PEGUCHE HOUSES

I

Rosita Lema is thirty years old. She married José Ruis, the son of a neighbor, when she was sixteen. José was nineteen. They lived in the comparatively spacious house of Rosita's parents for five years until together, as weaver and spinner, they accumulated enough to buy a piece of land and became independent householders. Meanwhile they contributed to household and field activities and helped Rosita's father in caring for stock, in butchering and selling meat, and in general farm and house work. They were valuable and needed helpers because they were both good workers and because Rosita's two sisters were still little girls and Segundo, her only brother, now only nine years old, was born a year after her own eldest child.

Although the households are now separate, family relations are still close and co-operative. José's father-in-law, Manuel Lema, will lend José a horse and ride with him to the hacienda of Cusin to make purchases, cattle for himself or wool for José. Rosita and her sisters, who are now married, still sell the fixings of meat—liver, cooked blood—in the little Saturday meat market at the railroad track in return for the bowlful of meat their father gives them from the Friday slaughter. Segundo picnics with Lucila and Alberto during the school lunch period, Rosita sending her servant to meet the children in a quiet field out of town.

Segundo (Rosita's brother) goes to the Christian Brothers' school; Lucila (Rosita's daughter), to the school of the Sisters of Charity—the only Indians in these schools. The parents of both children are comparatively devout Catholics. A concrete cross stands in the middle of the roof of Manuel Lema's house, the only roof cross¹ in Peguche. Rosita and her mother each wears a scapulary, a tiny piece of cotton with a cross embroidered in red. This means, according to Rosita, that they belong to the Third Order of San Francisco.² During her confinement Rosita kept fastened to her bed-post a piece of palm and a rosary such as White Catholics use. Rosita feasts the Sister when, with some of her older pupils, she pays parochial visits, and the Franciscans depend on Rosita and José, who is an alcalde of their church, when they desire to assemble a *minga*, a work party, for re-

¹ Seen now and then elsewhere (cf. Gillen, Angochagua, Pl. 27).

² This was once the Order of the Penitentes, but Rosita knows nothing about Penitentes or their practices. Nor does anyone else I have met in Ecuador. Why did the Third Order "take" in New Mexico and not in Mexico or Ecuador?

pairs in their establishment. Rosita is more sympathetic and far easier to converse with in Spanish than anyone else in Peguche.

Rosita's contacts with White people are by no means confined to representatives of the Church. She trades with Whites in Otavalo and in Quito, and she chooses Whites rather than Indians as *compadres*. One of her *compadres* is the municipal *comisario* in Otavalo, another is a well-to-do produce merchant whose wife was reared on the hacienda of Quinchuquí, and another is the leading surgeon in Quito. White connections seem worth while to Rosita, and more than anyone else in Peguche she understands how to make and keep them.

Rosita learned Spanish or rather began to learn it through her father, who had a Cholo forebear, probably a maternal grandparent. Rosita's hair is dark brown³ and fine. José's hair is black and coarse. He has some hairs about his mouth, too few for a mustache or to bother about. The idea of plucking out face hairs is quite unfamiliar. Now and again an Indian will go to a barber in Otavalo. Imbabura men have scanty beards.⁴

José and Rosita wear their hair conventionally and dress conventionally except for Rosita's jewelry. She piles on the gilt beads, but she does not wear the rosary necklaces. To her gilt beads is fastened a tiny gilt hand, the Spanish *higa*, "amulet," but to Rosita it is merely an ornament. Instead of the usual brass rings she wears three or four seal rings in silver with initials, not her own. She was told that these rings were amulets like the brass rings, against witchcraft, but she does not believe it. She is extremely fond of jewelry. That I did not wear any seemed to her, I believe, the strangest thing about me.

Rosita is extraordinarily alert, observant, and curious about her world, about whatever comes to her attention. She is an herbalist, knowing the names of a vast number of plants and experimenting with them as medicines. She insists that she did not learn about *remedios* from her mother or anybody else; she taught herself. But the illusion that all she knows is self-taught is one of her few foibles. It is also a source of her self-assurance. She is a self-made woman.

In curing, "if my first *remedio* yields no result, next day I try another, and then another," said Rosita. Rosita experiments similarly with the medicines of the Otavalo drug store, and she begged me for a laxative she saw in my room. Also after I had described the watermelon she asked me to send her some seeds. About foreign fabrics or dyes she has a like interest, in this case a professional interest, since she and her husband market a not inconsiderable part of the textile output of Peguche. Rosita is more intelligent and alive to the outer world than José, but both showed the kind of

³ As was 5 per cent of the Imbabura group observed by Gillen.

⁴ Gillen, p. 184.

wonder over innovations that Garcilasso considered so characteristic of the Peruvians.⁵ It was a simple wonder too. Once, when I was describing the skyscrapers of New York, José asked, "Is it true, too, that the Ingles can understand the language of animals and birds?" Another time I happened to mention the Chinese and Japanese. "Blancos, White people?" asked Rosita.

"No."

"Then they are Indians?"

"No."

"Are they baptized?"

"No."

"Then they are Masons?"

"No, they have another religion." This amazed her.

"How is that possible?"

"They have other gods."

"How is that possible! Are they married in the church?"

"Married, but not in the church." Further mystification must have seemed futile, for at that she returned to the always fascinating subject of the high buildings of Nueva York, an equally extraordinary but more intelligible matter. "Fifteen to twenty stories! Three thousand more than everybody in Peguche in one house!"

Because of her comparatively close relations to the Church, of her trading relations abroad, and of her fluent knowledge of Spanish, Rosita is becoming more and more aware of White culture and more and more critical of several aspects of her Indian culture, for example, of the validity of dreams or of witchcraft. And yet she is far from being aloof from neighbors. She has many visitors within and without the family connection, and in our visits to other houses she was pleasant and very talkative. "You talked a lot to them," I remarked one day on our way home. "Yes, they like that," said she. Her personality and her prestige as a trader render her conspicuous, I surmise, to her neighbors, a telling example. Rosita furnishes an illustration of the opportunities for acculturation through unusual personality; indeed, one of the most outstanding instances I have ever observed.

Rosita is quite well aware that in her own community she is exceptional, and it gives her a sense of superiority which to me at least she was ever ready to express. It was along this line that her factual statements required most checking. About whatever enhanced her prestige, and in her own eye uniqueness did this, she was unreliable. In other connections there was usually no motivation for not describing things as they were, at least none I could not keep from developing—the situation an ethnologist has to watch with any people.

⁵ Garcilasso, I, 229.

The rest of the household—children, servants, and the *maestro*—seemed quite unconcerned about the storm. I asked Taita Orgenio what he would do against lightning. "Say three *Corazon de Jesús*."

I asked the *maestro* how many *priostes* there were at Riobamba. "I will tell you, Patronita. There are San Juan, San Juan de Noche Buena, Año Nuevo, Día de Los Reyes, Corpus, De las Almas."

The *maestro* was starting for Agato. After a few words to "Mamita Rosita," standing in the corridor, he formally blessed the house: "Que le reciba la bendición del cielo!" Taita Orgenio makes the sign of the cross in priestly fashion, with fingers and thumb straight.

Three days later the *maestro* is back again, lying on a mat in the bedroom, not his neat and composed self at all, but jabbering incoherently. "What is he saying, Rosita?"

"He is saying that it is bad to drink. People should not drink," smiled Rosita; "and he talks this way while he is drunk himself."

"*Chistozo*, Rosita!"—"Chistozo, Señora!"

IV

Baby Matilde is five days old, and her mother seems quite herself again. I find the little boys, Rosita's brother and son, sitting on the end of the bed, making finger rings of palm leaf. Rosita makes a *crux de ramos*, a palm leaf cross, which, by the way, is in form exactly like the prayer stick of the Cora-Huichol Indians that Lumholtz called "god's eye." Segundo gives me a ring; it is too small, he sees, and he makes another. "We are married now," I joke, which, of course, does not seem funny to Segundo but gets a laugh from Rosita.

After Segundo goes on home, Lucila takes his place on the bed, and mother and children begin to teach me to count in the Quechua decimal system. Alberto, aged seven, can count just as well as his seniors.

1 = shu	10 = chungá
2 = ishkai	11 = shungashu, etc.
3 = gimpsa	20 = ishkaichunga
4 = chusko	30 = gimpsachunga, etc.
5 = picha	100 = patsa
6 = sukta	1,000 = waranga
7 = kanchis	1,000,000 = millón (no Quechua term unless <i>waranga waranga</i>)
8 = pusa	
9 = isku	

I have watched adults count on their fingers. The palms are held inward, and the count begins on the little finger of the left hand, each finger

ish, the practice may be related to some such practice of offering incense to God to moderate storm, as was suggested by an Armenian monk in the Mongol court (Rubruck, pp. 210-11). To Rosita palm means "adoración del Señor." However, I surmise that in general the ritual smudge is an instance of Indian exorcism by smoke.

bent down by the index finger of the right hand, and then the fingers of the right hand are similarly checked.

In Cayambe the unschooled keep numerical records by marks on their ox goads.

V

I am sitting alongside Rosita's bed when we hear Alberto singing outside, first in Quechua, then in Spanish, as he beats out a rhythm on an inverted basket with a stick. The rhythm is good, and there is a bit of melody in the songs which, according to his mother, he is improvising. The first is about a mother and two children (*guaguas*): She fights with them and they cry. The second song starts: *Ando como un perito*, "I am going along like a little dog," with each of the following lines beginning: "I am going along like . . .," but we missed the last words.

I admire, and Rosita looks pleased. José steps in and says that Alberto is circling the house as he sings. José looks pleased also; both parents are highly gratified by the little fellow's musical performance, and Rosita in particular by his song in Spanish. "I never speak to the children in Spanish," she says; "but even Alberto is learning it, even to singing it."

After a while Alberto comes in. On request he shows me his flute. Of course, I resist the temptation to ask him to sell it to me; but as Rosita had been showing me the bread figurines Alberto was given at All Souls by his godmother I suggest that he give me one of them. Alberto kept them in a little pail with other small treasures. All but one had been nibbled by the mice. Without a word of protest or any hesitation, Alberto picks out one and offers it to me. It is the sound unnibbled one.

Another day I bring with me to the house a banana for Lucila. Alberto and his little uncle, Segundo, are there and Rosita says in an undertone to Lucila, "Divide!" Lucila breaks the banana in two and gives half to Alberto, the other half she divides again and gives this half to Segundo. Dividing by three is too difficult but not the injunction to share.

In Rosita's family parental injunction or call to render some little service is heeded as a matter of course. Even when Lucila was having a lovely, excited time playing at Negrit with the boys and was called to bring the baby to her mother she did not demur. The only time I ever saw her balk was when the adults were picking over wool and she declined an invitation to join the work circle and slipped away—not before she overheard a remark on girls who were not industrious. There was no remark or reprimand for Alberto when he gave over rubbing out quinoa seed on the grinding-stone placed for him end to end with Juanti's stone so that they could rub facing each other. Alberto was too little to be expected to concentrate very long on anything, either work or play. One of the secrets of Rosita's successful training is not to insist after interest lapses. Another secret, as I

said before, is lack of exclusiveness; the children are expected to share in every possession or to participate as far as they can in anything that goes on in the household. I learned a lot from Rosita about bringing up children.

The children rarely quarrel. Indeed, I saw only one quarrelsome scene, over an improvised cardboard cart that both wanted to drag around at the same time. Alberto cried, as he still did now and then for something he wanted to have or to do; Lucila never cried. The quarrel ended, after quite a little discussion between the parents, which, unfortunately, I could not follow, by Alberto's getting the cart. In so far as they were stern at all, the parents, at least Rosita, were sterner with Lucila than with Alberto, due no doubt to the difference in their ages. To be sure, Rosita once told me in connection with the arrival of baby Matilde that she preferred boys to girls.

VI

Manuel Lema, Rosita's father, has just called. He shakes hands with me today for the first time without covering his hand with his poncho, in the old-fashioned way. He has come to borrow a pencil for the man who has just sold him a cow to write out a bill of sale.

As I am giving him the pencil, Alberto and three other little boys—his two first cousins (maternal) and their first cousin (paternal)—troop out from the cornfield trail, single file. Each boy carries a bamboo pole to which is stuck a paper flag—yellow, red, and blue, the national flag. They begin to circle the yard, antisunwise. "Soldados [soldiers]?" I ask Rosita. "No, Negrit."⁹

Manuel and I shout to them to dance, "Baila! Baila!" and they form a circle and begin to march around, again antisunwise. They whistle, and Alberto picks up a stick, improvising a flute which he pretends to play. Now they move around, stamping, bending forward from the waist, and shouting. They shout (in Quechua, of course) whatever comes into their head: "We are all brave! We are handsome! We are men (*Q. haricuna*)!"

In the corridor we are all much amused and laughing. Grandfather Manuel is delighted and shouts encouragement. Little Lucila, who is not one to be left out, takes his flag from one of the boys and joins the dance circle, leading them when they break between dances and run around the house, always antisunwise, nor, unlike their prototypes, do they ever reverse the circle. Proof here for the antisunwise circle, and its establishment at an early age!

Manuel goes off to attend to his bill of sale and returns to give me the

⁹ Evidence here that the character of the Negrit as warrior is forgotten, little boys playing soldier and not knowing it. Psychologically from them to the Jibaro youngsters, who were told every day by their fathers about kinsmen whose killing they were to revenge and who were taken on murderous raids (Stirling, p. 51), seems a far cry, yet formally Alberto and the others were performing a Jibaro or Oriente war dance. *Sic transit gloria belli!* And ritual is seen to outlive motivation.

pencil and show the bill which contains a full description of the cow—color, ears cut, branded A—but no mention of the price! (Which is two hundred sucres.) “Is it good?” he asks. And when I say, “Very good,” he looks pleased. We leave the children still dancing Negrit.

VII

Rosita's confinement means a holiday from school for Lucila. When Rosita is about, she takes Lucila into Otavalo, combining the trip with marketing, and she or Andrea will fetch her home in the afternoon. Andrea has also to take lunch to the children. But, with the new baby, Andrea has more household work to do, cooking and washing single-handed. Besides, Lucila is useful at home, too, particularly in bringing the baby to their mother to be nursed. And when the children do not go into town their hair does not have to be rebraided every day.

Lucila has three braids, one on each side of the head, which have to be gathered into the braid at the back, and Alberto has five braids. To comb, delouse, and braid a little head takes from half an hour to an hour. With the comb, which is constantly dipped into a bowl of water, the hair is neatly separated on the top of the head. The girl's side braids are gathered into a single braid at the back and tied at the neck with a string. Then a strand of yarn is started into the single braid and tied near the ends of the braid. For a woman a hair belt (Sp.-Q. *cinta*) is similarly used and the braid is doubled back, wrapped and tied with the belt into a firm club like that of the Pueblo Indian. The only part of the hair that is ever cut is a lock on each temple which is kept about two inches long.¹⁰

The boy's side braids are gathered into the braid off the forehead on top of the head, and this threefold braid is then gathered into a back braid, which is in turn gathered into the fifth or neck braid, into which is braided a tie cord (*chimba*). For a man the two side braids are omitted, and this part of the head is generally disheveled.

VIII

This is the last day of Rosita's thirty-day confinement. She has taken her bath and washed her head, and now for an hour in the corridor José has been combing and delousing her hair. She nurses the baby, and we talk about lice (Sp. *piojo* [*piojos*]; Q. *usa*). José shows me one. He chews it and throws it away. He chews it to kill it, he says, not to eat. Interesting, if credible. Interesting anyhow. José certainly knows about eating lice, or he would not have made this reference, and he must know that the practice is subject to criticism.

He shows me an egg (*tsia*). Lousy is *tsiuso*. Body lice (*pilis*) cause itch

¹⁰ This hair-cutting is burned, not against witchcraft, says Rosita, but from what notion she will not say and changes the subject by her usual device of giving me some irrelevant Quechua vocabulary. It is a clever and effectual device—for the time being.

(Sp. *comezón*; Q. *sbishi*). All these words seem amusing to José and Rosita and to the servants. The whole subject is funny, much as it is to us. "Come and delouse me," says Rosita in Quechua for my edification, and everybody laughs.

Rosita asks if there are fleas (Sp. *purga* [*pulga*]; Q. *piki*) in the hotel. "Not one, unless I bring it in."

"From here? There are always fleas where there are guinea pigs." From pigs and chickens there are tiny red ones (Q. *iño-nihua*)—ticks? *Garrapata* (Sp. and Q.) are cattle ticks. Pig ticks cause fever. I tell them about the cattle tick that once lived for a month in my ear; it amuses them. Rosita sneezes and José exclaims, "Ave María Purísima!"

"Sin pecado concebida Gracias!" says Rosita.

Now the hair is finished, in a single braid, left hanging, and we all partake of some parched corn kernels. As José puts some into my left hand, he says, "Come choclo, se habla Quechua [Eat maize, speak Quechua]," and Rosita adds, "Si come chagras (chagra), se hace chagras [If you eat (off) the farm, farmer you become]."

Along comes a little girl, Victoria Ruis (see Chart III, No. 59), José's niece, and Rosita takes a five-sucre bill from her customary till, her chemise, and gives it to the child, for some weaving job by the child's father, but whether in payment or as an advance I could not learn. Rosita likes to keep the full significance of all these little pecuniary transactions with her relatives or neighbors pretty much to herself.

IX

This afternoon we have no end of callers. First a blind Cholo beggar, a young man, and the girl who leads him by a cord. Rosita tells him to pray for Taita José, Father José, the deceased father of her husband,¹¹ and the beggar says a prayer three or four minutes long, in Spanish. Rosita does not listen to it but talks on to the *maestro*, who has just returned from a trip. At the conclusion of the prayer she gives the beggar two ears of corn.

Another beggar, the half-wit, middle-aged Cholo I have often seen on the outskirts of Peguche. Prayers are not his line; nevertheless, he is given some food, a handful of toasted corn. He stands humbly at the far corner of the corridor and is not invited to draw closer. Among most Indians anywhere it is customary to offer food to visitors from a distance. But this is something more; it is given to casual callers, and as charity, as in the early English village when houses were of wattle and daubed mud, thatched, and as at Peguche without window or chimney. "Charity died when chimneys came in," was an English saying.

¹¹ "Among many Indian tribes in Ecuador and elsewhere there prevails the custom that the surviving relatives offer a special cult to the deceased family father" (Karsten 4:366, 460). See Appendix, pp. 199-200.

Now at Rosita's a woman arrives with a small pail of milk. She is the dairy peon from the hacienda of Peguche, and she is peddling some of the milk she has received for milking. She is given a gourdful of soup, the milk is poured out of her container, and she promptly leaves. The next caller is on business, too, but she lingers to talk after drinking the proffered soup. She has brought a skein of brown yarn given her by Rosita to card and spin, also the carders that were loaned her. Rosita and José farm out a good many little weaving jobs to their less-well-to-do neighbors.

José himself had dyed this wool, with walnut, which curiously enough is called *nopal*¹² (*Q. tukti*). The walnuts are well boiled. José got his walnuts from a tree growing in the yard of his father-in-law, Manuel Lema. Walnut trees are said to bear twice a year, in April and August, and the rind of the nut yields a dozen different shades, from deep brown to a pale fawn. The wool is dyed before it is spun.

Soon after the spinner neighbor has left, Alejandro Ruis calls to borrow the cultivator (*shaiyapala*). Alejandro is the husband of Rosita's youngest sister. The young couple have two children, and they are still living with Alejandro's parents, Paula Lema and Mariano Ruis (see Chart III, Nos. 12 and 13). Mariano Ruis is the older brother of José, so Alejandro has a double relationship to our family—brother-in-law to Rosita, nephew to José, a case of familial intertwining not uncommon in Peguche. Alejandro wants the tool to help his father-in-law cultivate their cornfield; there is only one cultivator in the family.

One day while Rosita was still in childbed Alejandro's mother, Paula Lema, called on her, bringing her a confinement gift of some buns and a *sopa de dulce*. With Paula came her little grandson, who throughout the long chat between the women sat on the mat a little behind his grandmother perfectly speechless and quiet. You hardly knew he was there.

The next day I proposed to Lucila to accompany me to Paula's house, quite a distance on the northern edge of Peguche. Lucila was afraid of the dogs there, *muy bravos*; however, she went with me, and we stood on the further side of the conduit and called until Paula came out and restrained the dogs that were indeed the fiercest barkers of all the alarming curs one has ever to face in Peguche.

Paula welcomed us, spread a mat in the corridor, apologizing for the lack of a chair, and gave us each an ear of roast corn. Paula's Spanish was extremely limited so she did not sit down to talk but went on collecting bits of kindling in the yard to cook supper for her household. I noticed that her two *chicha* jars were planted not in a corner of the kitchen but in the yard.

¹² In Mexico the purple cochineal dye from the parasite of the *tuna* or prickly pear is called *nopal*.

X

Yesterday Rosita was visited by Father Samuel, a Franciscan friar who was born at Burgos, Spain, thirty-one years ago and came to Ecuador when he was eleven years old. Juanti had seen the Father and a youthful companion approaching on the railroad tracks and ran home to notify Rosita, just as he or Andrea or one of the children used to do when I began to call. Unusual visitors of any importance should be prepared for. A basket of trash was hastily removed, the pegged-down hen repegged at a distance, and a chair set out. Rosita looked pleased and was all aflutter.

Father Samuel has the narrow face, long nose, and small, full-lipped mouth of the ascetic which the Spanish masters loved to paint. The American is introduced. Does she live at Agato, asks the Father. "No, Father, I have never been in Agato," and I quickly mention my well-known Catholic friends in Quito and speak of having lived in Mexico. "A very backward country, full of bandits, suffering from constant revolution," comments the Father. From the wide sleeve of his brown habit he produces a tin of biscuits for the children, and we all eat some, and then he takes out a package of the cheap yellow-paper cigarettes the Indians smoke and, a little to my surprise, offers me one. Later he accepts one of my cigarettes. By the grace of God, as Garcilasso might have said, smoking is not one of the pleasures of life ruled out by our ascetic visitor. Finally, the *padrecito*, as Rosita addresses him, comes to the object of his call, which is to arrange with Rosita about a *minga* to repair the yard of the monastery. José, Rafael Lema, and Antonio Cotocachi are *alcaldes* of his church, as well as of the chapel of Peguche, but the preliminaries for the *minga*, deciding what day of the week to hold it, etc., are easier to talk over with Rosita than with her husband or the other men.

Soon after Father Samuel and his silent acolyte leave, our *maestro* appears, returning from another trip to Agato. He tells Rosita that he met the Father outside and the Father asked him if he had ever seen me at Agato. Ethnologists are not the only ones who check up on information!

For the past decade a Protestant mission has been stationed at Agato, in a foothill of Imbabura, about five miles southeast of Peguche, a place I would have liked to visit—it is notable for the belts the men weave—but never dared. For some time in Otavalo I was under suspicion of belonging to the Agato Evangelistas. Both Cholos and Indians are forbidden by the Church to enter the house of the Evangelistas, an American man and woman who keep a small school and about whom fantastic stories circulate. "They went to Agato because nobody in Otavalo would rent them a house. . . . They say Mass without a priest. . . . They put a child on a table to represent Jesucristo. . . . 'Why do you believe in images?' they ask. 'They are only wood.'" Why do Protestant missionaries go to highly Catholicized

countries to become a source of scandal and dissension, a fifth column, a Trojan horse indeed?

The *maestro* is a missionary of another kind. He has made several trips to Agato, to tell the rosary in homes or in the chapel where San Antonio lives. Possibly the *maestro* was directed by his ecclesiastic authority to pay special attention to Agato, as a counterinfluence to the "foreign devils" there, in Catholic terminology the "Masones," a more recent term for heretics than "witches." The *maestro* tells us that on this trip he had declined to tell the rosary in the house of an Agato couple who had remated after a divorce.

On his way back the *maestro* picked up a burr in the sole of his sandalless foot. Andrea starts to get it out for him with a steel needle, but in a moment or two she discards the needle and uses a large thorn instead.¹³ After the little operation is over, Rosita and I tease the *maestro* by telling him God has been punishing him for going to Agato where the Masons live.

XI

Rosita is a close, indeed, a sharp, trader. This afternoon as she sits in the corridor making a rag doll for Lucila a young man and a lad come down from Agato to sell a skein of purple wool. It is Friday, and the hillman may think he can get a better price from Rosita than in the next day's market. For one hour he and Rosita haggle over the price, he asking thirty-five sucres, and she willing to give only twenty-five. At times the argument is quite lively, but there are quiet interludes of general conversation, and throughout both parties address each other as *tío* and *tía* and wear a smile. Am I related to the Evangelistas, asks the Agato man. Reassured, he says he doesn't like those people.

The lad from Agato carries a wooden ox goad, a leather thong through the perforated head and the foot consisting of a twisted and pointed bit of metal. He sits removed from us and silent, taking no part whatsoever in the conversation. Nor, of course, does Rosita's little brother Segundo, who is making a ball, stitching blue and red yarns over a wat of white cotton thread. He is as intent on his needle as any woman on her spindle, indeed more so, having a precise job to finish; but he is listening to the bargaining and learning a lesson in trade.

It is plain enough that Rosita will not budge from her price; but Agato cannot bring himself either to come down or to leave. Finally, José arrives and the matter is reopened for him. He is far less assertive than Rosita and more amiable, but he holds to the price she set, and after a few unavailing minutes the two from Agato depart.

José had come in with his *alcalde* cane, a stick of light-colored wood with a leather loop through the perforation at the top. It is a replica of the sticks

¹³ The early Peruvians used thorns to sew (Garcilasso, I, 203). They also had copper needles.

carried by the *topiles*, sheriffs of Indian Mexico, and after the Agato couple departs I ask José if it is a *bara* of office. "No," he says, a little too vehemently. He does not know that I know he is serving as an *alcalde de capilla*. Why should he be secretive?

Now another visitor arrives, Antuka Cotacachi (Chart II, No. 7), the aunt who lives in Quinchuquí. It is her formal visit after the birth of Matilde,¹⁴ and she is bringing Rosita, her sister's daughter, a little gift of buns and of barley, a large basketful. After quite a chat with *mamaita*, it occurs to Rosita that I might buy her "little mother's" two necklaces or *rosarios* of brass and coral beads, silver coins, and crucifix.

"How much?" I ask.

"Seventy sucres for both together."

Although I do not know how these necklaces are valued—they are not sold in the market—that price seems high, and I suggest buying one necklace only. "No; she says if she sells she must sell both." I speak of something else, and presently Antuka goes off, leaving the necklaces. I resume. "Well, I will pay seventy sucres."

"Which do you prefer?" asks Rosita.

"But I am paying seventy sucres for both."

"No, only for one. She asks thirty sucres more for the other." I am so surprised by this shift on the stipulated asking price and so interested in Rosita's evident excitement about the bargain—her face has flushed and her eyes are lit up—that I pay out one hundred sucres on the spot to see what will happen. Rosita takes the money into the bedroom and when Antuka returns gives her, I can but infer, seventy sucres and keeps thirty sucres for herself.

"You got them very cheap," Rosita reiterated two or three times later on after Antuka said "Ripanimi [I am going]," and it was then, as an emotional aftermath of such a satisfactory deal and perhaps as compensation to me, that Rosita told me about the most effectual cure for Rainbow sickness. The usual price of a necklace-rosary, I learned later, was from ten to fifteen sucres. But that information about Rainbow was priceless.

XII

For four years Rosita and José have kept two servants, a married couple who came "from a distance," says Rosita, *gente de cerro*, "people of the mountain." They receive no wages, only their clothes and food. Juanti's working pants, shirt, and poncho are dilapidated, but he has a good festive poncho; Andrea's clothes are in good condition; she is short merely on jewelry. Rosita directs their work, and they sleep in the kitchen apart from the family, but they share in the family meals, and from our point of view

¹⁴ Childbed visits were customary in Inca Peru (Garcilasso, I, 305).

they are treated more like "poor relations" than as servants. Rosita addresses them as *compadre* and *comadre*—Cumpa Juanti and Cuma Andrea. She in turn is addressed as *cumare*, also by Andrea as *madám*. Madám Rosita will delouse, cut, and dress Andrea's hair.

Like everybody else, Juanti was extremely curious about what I paid Rosita for "teaching" me, and one day when we were alone he grasped the opportunity and asked me forthright: "What do you pay Rosita Lema?" I pretended not to understand him, of course. Indeed, his Spanish is very limited. María Andrea Panamá knows no Spanish. They were born at Sigsicunga, Juanti told me, the other side of the valley.

Rosita's parents also keep a couple of servants on the same terms. In other Peguche households, Rosita insists, there are no servants. She and her parents keep servants not because they are rich, only *por cariño*, from kindness. "Other families would not keep servants because they would be loath to feed and clothe them." All I make out of this is that Rosita wants to be thought charitable, but not rich. That others in Peguche who can afford servants or retainers do keep them I think not unlikely, but whether this is in comparatively recent imitation of Otavalo practice or comes down from the Peruvian-Quito servitude of the Yanacona, the Blacks,¹⁵ I have no idea. It seems probable, however, that the Yanacona status was like that of Rosita's servants, which is the characteristic status of so-called "slaves" in many primitive societies.

Rosita has an embryonic sense of class, and it would not be difficult for her to think of herself as an Inca lady, if she knew anything about the Inca or a class-stratified Indian society. And when I picture the Inca ladies, I see Rosita. (I also see Flora Surni of Zuni.)

It is primarily from her sense of distinction, not from toadying, that Rosita associates easily with White gentry. To be sure, there are other reasons, as the following anecdote indicates. Nobody from Rosita's household attended the Otavalo street-opening *minga*, and so the agent of the *comisario municipal* came and in the absence of Rosita and José confiscated from the line in the yard a swaddling cloth worth about 6 sucres. Rosita asked me for a lift into town, and from the *comisario*, her *compadre*, she got a note ordering the manager of the *minga* to return the piece of cloth. Rosita gave the note to a relative at the *minga* to give to the manager and get back the cloth. The next morning the cloth was around Matilde.

¹⁵ According to Garcilasso, this class (Indians not Negroes) who performed personal services was constituted of Incaic subjects who had rebelled and then been reduced to hereditary enslavement. The class existed in early Quito. An "Anacona" man would take care of a riding horse and carry a letter from town to town. Boys served as pages (*pajes*). An "Anacona" woman employed in housework got two *mantas*, two chemises (*camisetas*), and two *pesos* a year (other Indian women got four *mantas*, two *liquidas* [*llicllas*], two *anacos*, and two *pesos*) (Quito, 1573, p. 95).

XIII

Rosita is still working over Albes, as she sometimes calls Alberto, when her neighbor and cousin, María Cotacachi calls to arrange about something. María is the wife of Antonio Cajas, the weaver who has been away three months at San Cristobal in Colombia. María was left a widow when very young, and Antonio is her second husband. He was the first cousin of her deceased husband. María and Antonio have five children.

After María leaves, little Lucila asks her mother for some money. Rosita refuses, but Lucila keeps at her, and finally she takes the coin from her red bead bracelet. "What does she want it for?"

"To buy a candle at Julián's store."

"What for?" I can be persistent, too.

"For San Antonio." And then Rosita opens the door to the bedroom, closed today but generally left open. On a table in the middle of the room sits the saint, a small painted plaster image in a glass case, with a slot in front for coins. A small white candle stands lit on the table, nothing else, no flowers. I was so surprised by the unexpected presence that I forgot to make the sign of the cross.

San Antonio has been sent forth by the Franciscans, by Father Samuel, on a *novena* of sixty days, two rounds of overnight visits in thirty houses, the houses of those who have signed up as hosts, *de voto*, "for a vow." The households burn a few candles, drop one sucre in the collection box, and in the evening on the arrival of the saint say what prayers they may know. If they know none, they summon a *maestro*. Rosita knows prayers, and probably little Lucila wanted the candle to say a prayer she had learned in school from the Sisters. No doubt it would afford her, too, some sense of achievement and security.

Little San Antonio began his rounds in the house of Manuel Lema, Rosita's father, and this evening about six o'clock he is to move on to the house of María Cotacachi. That is what María came to arrange for. She will fetch him herself to her house. Had it not been for her visit and little Lucila's importunity, I doubt if Rosita would have told me anything about her supernatural guest. Indians can be as secretive in behalf of the Church as against it.

The following list of persons to entertain the saint pictures vividly the family tissue so characteristic of life in Peguche. Rosita gave the list without hesitating a moment to remember a name.

- I. Manuel Lema (1) and Andrea Cotacachi (2)
- II. Julián Muela (3) and Carmen Lema (4), daughter of (1)
- III. José Ruis (5) and Rosita Lema (6), daughter of (1)
- IV. Antonio Cajas (7), great-nephew of (10), and María Cotacachi (8), first cousin of (2)
- V. José Conejo (9), maternal uncle of (3)

- VI. Josefa Cajas (10) widowed mother of (5), and Rafael Ruis, her son (11)
- VII. José Quimbo (12), first cousin of (5), and Santos Ramirez (13)
- VIII. José María Lema (14), kin of (1), and Tomasa Cachumuel (15)
- IX. Jesús Lema (16), kin of (1)
- X. José Manuel Lema (17), kin of (1)
- XI. Antonio Cotacachi (18)¹⁶
- XII. Daniel Ruis (19) and Josefina Lema (20), niece of (1)
- XIII. Francisco Kachiwango (21)
- XIV. Pablo¹⁷ Rimachi¹⁸ (22)
- XV. Antonio Lema (23), kin of (1)
- XVI. Manuel Terán (24) and Juana Lema (25), kin of (1) *or* (2)
- XVII. Rafael Cotacachi (26), first cousin of (2)
- XVIII. José Manuel Cotacachi (27), kin of (2)
- XIX. Manuel Pichamba (28)
- XX. José Pichamba (29)
- XXI. Francisco Campo (30)
- XXII. Manuel Lema (31), kin of (1)
- XXIII. Antonio Maldonado (32)
- XXIV. Martina Cachumuel (33)
- XXV. Rafael Cotacachi (34) first cousin of (2)
- XXVI. Rafael Lema (35), nephew of (1), and Rosa Terán (36)
- XXVII. José María Ruis (37), kin of (5)
- XXVIII. [Overlooked]
- XXIX. Mariano Ruis (38), brother of (5), and Paula Lema (39)
- XXX. Carlos Cotacachi (40), kin of (2)

From these thirty households the saint will move on for another "novenas" in another group of relatives and neighbors, and in this way the saint will keep moving in Peguche throughout the year. These "novenas" were introduced only fifteen years ago on the arrival of the Franciscans, but they are evidence of how the Church makes use of Indian social organization and enriches it—as well as itself.

XIV

Today we visit Josefina, who lives with her husband and five children in a "straw house." The five little girls are seated around a mat in the corridor, or, rather, porch, eating supper. Their mother passes out a bowl of bean soup to Rosita, who offers it to me and, when I decline it, gives it to the "little orphan" with us. The child lives with her maternal grandmother, a neighbor of Rosita, and often comes to play and be given something to eat by Rosita.

¹⁶ Had his wife's name been recorded and the names of the wives of the other six men not noted as connected with the Lema-Cotacachi lineages, I surmise that additional family connections would have come out.

¹⁷ Married into Peguche from Pucará on the lake of San Pablo.

¹⁸ Name of fifth legitimate son of the Inca Tupac Yupanqui, who initiated the conquest of Quito (Garcilasso, II, 353).

Josefina must find it hard at times to feed her own children. She spins, and her husband weaves ponchos. Wires are strung from tree to tree in the very small yard.

XV

On my return to Peguche in 1941, I found Rosita lying bundled up in bed, weaker than just after the birth of the baby eighteen months before. She was listless, and even the gilt brooch I brought her aroused little interest. (Later she told me she planned to make it into earrings, since brooches were not worn. Yet in 1940 she had begged me several times to give her my brooch.) The expression of her face was quite altered; had I met her, say, on the road, I might not have recognized her. For a year, she said, she had been sick, on and off. She had violent headaches, particularly above the back of the neck, she had no appetite and ate little, and she retched or vomited during or after nursing. I suggested that it would be better for herself and for Matilde, now eighteen months old, to wean the child. "Matilde does not want to separate," Rosita replied, and she held to this until she had a severe collapse two months later. Then Matilde was "separated" by being sent to live with Rosita's mother, where she ate whatever the others ate. Even before the weaning, for several months Matilde had been given anything she wanted to eat. She was not sick at any time during my visit, but she looked somewhat undernourished.

On my second call, the next day, Rosita was up, sitting in the corridor. During the following weeks she would now and again go out walking somewhere in Peguche or into Otavalo, and she even took a few motor trips with me. She had given up carrying anything because she was subject to back pains, and instead of the heavy hard felt hat she wore a soft fedora. The children were not sent to school—Lucila was very helpful in waiting upon her mother, looking after Matilde, and going around with me, and Alberto spent most of his time in his grandmother's house or visiting cousins. To her usual chores of cooking and fetching water Andrea, the servant, had added the family wash. Rosita was doing no work of any kind and little or no trading. Her interest and attention were very much centered on her sickness and how to cure it. She and her callers talked mainly about her sickness, and remedies were suggested or contributed. Michi, her cousin, came in one day to cook her a stew of guinea pig and potatoes on the little hearth improvised in the middle of the room. Everybody in Peguche knew Rosita was sick, and wherever I visited I would be asked how she was, especially after a collapse when she had taken the last sacrament. That, of course, was public notice of imminent death. There was indeed a twofold notice, for, eclectic to the last, Rosita had sent for a Franciscan to confess her and the next day for her parish priest to give her the sacrament. When

I left Peguche, a week later, Rosita had recovered somewhat, and, although she was keeping to her bed (people had been telling her she had been suffering from being in the sun), she was planning to make the pilgrimage to the Virgin de Quinche, a hard trip by train, two weeks later, "whether I die or not." The family would not let her drive in with me to see a Quito doctor (our earlier plan) because she would die in Quito; besides, she did not want to go to the hospital "because there were too many sick people there."

In Otavalo all three White doctors as well as the Sisters who keep the apothecary shop had been visited. They had given Rosita prescriptions for anemia, without blood test or general examination. One doctor had told her to drink milk and eat eggs, but these upset her, said Rosita, and like other Indians she would sell her eggs, sometimes carrying a couple in her bosom on the chance of selling to a White passerby. Nor would Rosita try the cascara I brought her as a *remedio* for her exceedingly sluggish elimination—at one time I thought this might be the source of her ailment, and it must have been a contributing factor. The pills were a purge, and the purge an Otavalo doctor gave her had upset Matilde. Besides as she was eating so little, Rosita thought, elimination was unnecessary.

But with other *remedios* Rosita was more experimental. One day after visiting the miraculous Virgin in the new *municipio* of Andrade Marín,¹⁹ lighting two candles for her and saying a long prayer, Rosita kneeling on a *prie-dieu* and Lucila standing next, we picked up on the Ibarra road Mama Dolores, an old woman returning home to the Hacienda Palestina. Dolores was well known as a curer of fright, *espanto*, and did not Rosita have all the symptoms of that affliction—pains in head, neck, and back, no appetite, lassitude?

Instead of returning to the hacienda or to the roadside house of the old woman's daughter, we all go into another house on the road, where Mama Dolores has some connection, a filthy house where, although Spanish is spoken and the young women flirt with our driver, the *anaku* is worn, also a single braid, and somebody spins from a distaff. I remove the distaff from a little chair and sit down, as in any proper Indian house I would not have done until invited. Rosita and Mama Dolores sit on a dirty mat.

Rosita removes her two belts so that Dolores can reach up her back to massage. "How long sick?"

¹⁹ The church was built here in 1932 after the Virgin had appeared to a shepherdess at a stone (*apareció en una piedra*). (The rough stone *reredos* of the high altar represents this stone.) The story was told Rosita by an Indian who was also worshipping at the altar of the Virgin who "helps you in any work you are doing." This familiar legend was borrowed from the Virgin of Las Lajas in Colombia soon after the church at Las Lajas was built, but the Imbabura church and the Indians near by localized the legend in less than a decade. Now Rosita would carry it in an elaborate form to Peguche. All she had known before was that the Virgin was "born at a stone." Note that it is not *in a cave* but *at a stone*, just as the first Inca appeared.

"A year, and no doctor can cure me." Dolores says a little prayer to La Santísima, and begins a vigorous massage, as Rosita sits with her back to her. It hurts somewhat, not enough to groan but enough to indicate *espanto*. ("Si hay dolor, hay espanto; si no hay dolor, no hay espanto.") Then Dolores holds Rosita at the waist and jerks her up and down as she sits, saying "Rosita, levante, levante! Shungo!²⁰ Shungo!"

From her carrying basket Dolores takes some leaves of *granadilla* and applies some lard to make them stick together in pairs. Then she removes the leaf plaster Rosita had been wearing on her head under her headcloth, and around her neck, under a bandage, massages the temples a little and blows from the lips, three times, on top of Rosita's head. When the fresh leaf plaster is applied, she gives Rosita a punch in the back, quite a good punch, and then makes the sign of the cross over her back.

Throughout the treatment Dolores talks away, in Spanish, telling Rosita to take a bath in one of the three springs at San Juan, a cold spring. Also to drink water and lemon, and water and *naranja*. She is to come to Rosita's house Friday morning—this is Tuesday—and treatments should be given Tuesday and Friday. Meanwhile she gives Rosita a little lard for the leaf plaster. If the *granadilla* leaves dry up, you are recovering; otherwise you stay sick. The leaves Rosita removed were very dry. Dry leaves and a little pain, these were what encouraged Rosita to think that the diagnosis was correct and that the treatment would be efficacious.

Rosita asked Lucila to *lend* her a sucre to pay Dolores, and the little girl took the coin from under her bracelet, the coin she had received from me the day before. I am fairly certain that Rosita repaid the loan, so here was a neat bit of evidence that offspring may retain earnings.

Friday passed without a visit from Mama Dolores, but a few days later as I was leaving the house of Josefina Terán, midwife and *curandera*, she said she would go with me to visit Rosita. It was an unsolicited visit and not wholly welcome. I learned later that Josefina had been midwife at the birth of Lucila and had scalded Rosita with her fluids. Since then Rosita had not called her in. Almost at once Josefina began her treatment—diagnosis and exorcism by guinea pig followed by massage for fright.²¹ For this treatment Josefina was well paid, but for two others which she volunteered and from which Rosita was benefiting—"there should be four or five treatments"—Josefina was not paid, she told me after she heard that Rosita was worse. "Why didn't she pay me?" she asked. "Perhaps she will die." Jose-

²⁰ Heart (see p. 196), but Rosita thinks it refers to liver or gall bladder, and she has a theory that from rough bus travel her liver has been shaken down, and the words which elsewhere are supposed to refer to the lost soul (heart) are an order to the liver to raise up.

²¹ See p. 68.

fina was as annoyed as any doctor whose patient, after beginning to improve, goes back on him.

On my last visit to Rosita I find her sitting up in bed because she "got tired lying down," and on a chair next the bed her saints' pictures are propped, the candle butts in front indicating that prayers have been said, probably the night before. At the moment Rosita's sister Carmen is fuming near the bed with palm and *romero* against a source of sickness they do not mention. *Mal aire?* Or, given the family feud, have they succumbed to fear of witchcraft?

Poor Rosita! *Pobrecita*, perhaps she is "the most intelligent Indian in Ecuador," as a European friend in Quito described her, but there are situations native wit or personal wisdom cannot cope with; and maybe one of these is severe anemia given no adequate medical attention or direction or common-sense nursing and given cultural pressures that would handicap even an able and devoted doctor or nurse, particularly if uninformed about them. Judging from Rosita's experience, an out-patient clinic without knowledge of Indian home life and without the services of the district nurse will remain somewhat ineffectual in Indian Ecuador.

CHAPTER X

PROVENIENCE OF TRAITS

Indian traits in Imbabura are, as in various Indian groups of Mexico, for the most part economic; but there are also, as in Mexico, many other aspects of life which suggest that pre-Spanish ways of behaving and thinking may survive, particularly in home life (see Table 1).

The "straw house" with peaked thatched roof and low walls of uncut stone set in clay or mud is aboriginal; so are in both straw house and tile-roofed house the rough earth floor, lack of window and of smoke vent, hearth of stones, use of corners, and ground plan of two noncommunicating rooms. The origin of the "corridor," or outdoor shelter, is problematical. The aboriginal house, like the early Peruvian house, may have provided a shade for outdoor activity.¹ To be sure, I have seen weaving and pottery-making carried on in a "straw house" without any provision for outdoor shelter. Many thatched houses have none.² Lack of cutting implements and of timber may have precluded the idea of protection against the sudden showers of the region. The Indian loom is easily moved indoors. Even today, when almost every house has some kind of open-air shelter, whatever is hanging on the line in the yard, also the mats spread with wool or grain, are quickly gathered up and taken in against rain. If the aboriginal house had no outdoor shelter, if the "corridor" is wholly Spanish, we may see in the low-walled shelter of some houses a transition to the more spacious, pillared "corridor" of the high, tiled-roof house. Indeed, the variety of arrangement in the "corridor" suggests that it is a late, borrowed feature.

The hearth complex—fire stones, fire-pokers, lack of chimney or smoke vent, lack of stove—is Indian, and so are cooking, fermenting, and water vessels, the clay grill, grinding- and rubbing-stones, gourd cups and bowls, wooden spoons—almost all the kitchen furnishing. Cookery is consistently Indian: by boiling, stewing, and toasting. All the staple foods are pre-Conquest: maize, beans, quinoa, potatoes, squash. Preparation and distribution of food by the women, eating in a circle on the ground, the use of mat instead of table or chair (and the use in general of mats), eating only twice a day, drinking only after eating, offering food to visitors, great emphasis in general upon the social importance of eating and drinking in company, in-

¹ Cf. the famous early Chimu (Means, Fig. 2, p. 466). In these shades there is even an amusing resemblance to the lathe-turned Spanish post. For purpose of design the irregular tree trunk has been straightened. Let me suggest, by the way, that the weavers are women, since they sit with legs tucked under.

² Cf. houses in Angochagua (Gillen, Pls. 19-21), but see, too, *ibid.*, Fig. 1.

cluding the religious importance of offering food to the dead and to the gods or their representatives—all these are characteristic Indian ways or attitudes. Although drunkenness has been encouraged for economic reasons by the Whites, and hard liquor added to the native intoxicant and this intoxicant itself rendered more potent by adulteration,³ intoxication was undoubtedly a pre-Spanish trait. The contemporary attitude of irresponsibility for conduct during drunkenness is also aboriginal.

All the processes of making pottery, together with its being a hereditary craft, are aboriginal. Spinning and weaving are, of course, aboriginal, as is the assignment of the spindle to women, and the loom to men. All the woolen garments of both men and women appear to be aboriginal, although the black wrapped skirt so widespread among Spanish Indians has undergone some adaptation to Spanish requirement: When the Spanish chemise was adopted, the *anaco* was no longer hung from the shoulders; the thigh was covered by a second skirt or by a chemise. Although the chemise is Spanish, the embroidery has something of an Indian look, both in design and in the way it is placed. We may note, too, that no thimble is used. Backcloth and carrying cloth are certainly aboriginal. Discarding the backcloth at home, like Peruvians and Zuni Pueblos, and like them, too, not undressing to sleep are Indian ways. So are long-hair modes and probably in women the love of jewelry and its prescriptive usage. Prescriptive, standardized, and comparatively unchanging styles⁴ are characteristically Indian.

Plowing by bullock and metal harvesting implements excepted, the agricultural complex is aboriginal: fertilizing, sowing, and the use of wooden implements—digging paddle-stick and crotch-stick hoe (with or without iron strip). The form of the iron spade, the blade nearly in line with the long handle, like the Mexican *coa*, is aboriginal. In hoe and spade, iron merely took the place of copper.

The distribution of fields and houses is pre-Conquest, together with the lack of any proclivity for concentrated town life. The pre-Conquest population lived in *rancherías*⁵ rather than in pueblos. This accounts for the Indians' attachment to their lands in the face of tremendous pressure to dispossess them. It may account also in part for their submission to the encomienda system and to the present-day hacienda system, where, like cats, as one *hacendado* put it, they cling to the place they are used to.

³ Adulteration began early, in Mexico, probably in Ecuador. In 1529 a Spanish law forbade mixture, distillation, and infusion, by certain roots, boiling water, and lime in connection with pulque for the Indians of New Spain (Vasquez, pp. 80 ff.).

⁴ Cf. Garcilasso, II, 28: "The Indians wonder much at the way the Spaniards change the fashion of their dress every year, and attribute it to pride and presumption."

⁵ "The most civilized" of non-Inca peoples lived without plazas or order in their streets and houses, as in "a lair of wild beasts" (Garcilasso, I, 53).

The work party in field or in house building⁶ is aboriginal.⁷ *Minga* for White town or priest or *hacendado* may be of Spanish provenience, but the habit of communal labor necessary for the persistence of the *minga* among independent Indians is aboriginal. The same may be said of co-operative activity in various other religious forms set by the Church.

Attitudes toward property seem to be Indian-like—constant loaning within family or *compadre* circles, together with such contempt for a thief in their own community that boundary stone and watchdog are adequate protection. (And dogs serve rather against being taken by surprise by anybody, not only by the marauder.) Comparative lack of specialization and self-sufficiency in the household, self-support, are of Indian character.

There are many other psychological attitudes, many manners and practices, that appear Indian-like or are known to be Indian.

Analysis of distinctively Peruvian traits or of lowland Forest traits is more difficult than recognizing generically Indian traits. Peruvian analysis is difficult because we know so little about the pre-Peruvian culture—there is no early chronicler for Ecuador such as were Garcilasso for Peru, Landa for Yucatan, Las Casas for Guatemala, and Sahagún for Aztec Mexico, and archeological leads in Ecuador are very meager. Besides, Peruvian culture may have spread in the Andean highlands long before Peruvian conquests. Along this line Garcilasso is not much of a help, so anxious is he to prove the inferiority of the conquered populations. However, the Incas appear not to have had any system of commercial travelers such as helped to spread Aztec ways long before Aztec conquests. Then, too, traits common throughout western South America undoubtedly existed long before the Inca empire or the Kingdom of Quito and other Ecuadorean states took form. Our analysis of Peruvian parallels is inevitably speculative.

As Peruvian parallels were suggested, they have been given in footnotes. Let me now summarize in tabular form (Table 1) and then discuss the hypothesis that Peruvian culture may have been introduced into our valley by Peruvian colonists.

Language.—The Inca conquerors were clever in spreading their language. The sons of conquered chiefs were brought to Cuzco and taught Quechua, and all officials in subject territory were expected to learn it. But this achievement could not have taken place overnight, and in the northernmost region, disrupted as it was by long fighting, the time was too short. In Quito some progress in language substitution may have been made, but not much north of Quito, and even that was impaired after the Spanish Conquest. And yet it is here today, at least in Imbabura Valley, that Quechua

⁶ Cf. Bandelier, p. 96.

⁷ The descriptions of building and agricultural work parties among Caddoan tribes in our Southeast given in the seventeenth century by Fray Francisco Casañas Jesús María and Henri Joutel (Hatcher, XXXI, 155, 156; Joutel, pp. 363-64) are applicable today in Peguche.

TABLE 1

IMBABURA—EARLY PERUVIAN PARALLELS

Housing, House Ways; Agriculture; Crafts; Trade	Family; Manners, Morals; Language, Count, Games, Music	Sickness, Death; Dreams; Supernaturals, Ritual, Concepts; State-Church Organization
<p>Pirka building; earthen building</p> <p>Thatched roof</p> <p>Noncommunicating rooms; open-air inclosure; yard</p> <p>Corners of special import</p> <p>No windows or smoke vents</p> <p>Work party</p> <p>Platform bed</p> <p>Maize boiled or toasted</p> <p>Strong plants steeped or reboiled</p> <p>Grinding-stones, but seed meals for liquids rather than breads</p> <p>Maize brew and drunkenness</p> <p>Sprouted maize brew</p> <p>Guinea pigs; house bred; eaten on important occasions</p> <p>Crops: maize, beans, quinoa, squash, potatoes; maize and quinoa grown together</p> <p>Hoe, spade</p> <p>Field workers in rows</p> <p>Men and women workers</p> <p>Work party</p> <p>Holdings small and adjacent to house, precluding house concentration or streets</p> <p>Boundary stones</p> <p>Weaving: vertical loom; wool, cotton, maguëy; craft hereditary</p> <p>Embroidery</p> <p>Untailored poncho; woman's skirt; backcloth, with disk pin; carrying cloth; headcloth</p> <p>Pottery: rolling-stone; craft hereditary</p> <p>Sandal-making: maguëy and cotton</p> <p>Market</p> <p>Local specialties</p>	<p>Patrilineal descent</p> <p>Brother-sister terms</p> <p>Lineage very important</p> <p>Childbed visits</p> <p>Infant care: swaddling, cold bath</p> <p>Children employed according to ability</p> <p>Serving parents</p> <p>Status changed at marriage</p> <p>Co-operation between sexes, economic and otherwise</p> <p>Ceremonial eating and drinking</p> <p>Drinking <i>after</i> eating</p> <p>Horror of cannibalism</p> <p>Sodomy, familiar, condemned</p> <p>Condemnation of theft</p> <p>Condemnation of laziness</p> <p>No begging; poor, welcome at feasts</p> <p>Quechua</p> <p>Decimal count; 3 favored</p> <p>Bean game</p> <p>Flute, whist,le, <i>pingullo</i>, panpipes</p>	<p>Through bewitchment (envy), Winds, Rainbow, owner of Mountain, owner of Cave or River (Cayambe) through any Spirit contact</p> <p>Wailing</p> <p>Suicidal gesture, widow immolation</p> <p>Dreams prophetic</p> <p>Supernaturals: Father Sun, Mother Moon, Mother Fire, Rainbow, Mountains, the Dead, Supay (evil spirits)</p> <p>Ritual: masking; dancing; guinea-pig sacrifice; sacrifice of animals, humans, tools in constructing bridge, ditch-digging (Cayambe); liquor offering; sacrosanct places (river boulder, mountain waterfall, cave); divination by flame; by insides of animals (Cayambe); confession; cleansing; stone heap at pass (? cleansing rite)</p> <p>Ceremony (ritual drinking): San Juan Day—Raymi</p> <p>Lunar calendar</p> <p>Heaven an <i>upper</i> world, without work</p> <p>Sun into sea, dries it up</p> <p>Communal work for state or Church</p> <p>Tithes (Inca, thirds); priests supported</p> <p>(?) Punishment by torture</p>

is most firmly established. Peruvian colonization is indicated. The colonists kept the Quechua language alive, and then, well after the Spanish Conquest, Quechua may have spread from the colonists to the Chibcha-speaking people. The Peruvian colonists had prestige and were closer to the Church, which encouraged the "general language" and ignored other languages. Squeezed between the Quechua-speaking *padres* and *frailes*, the Quechua-speaking colonists and ever growing Spanish-speaking White population, Chibcha languages or dialects began to lose out.

The bulk of the Peruvian parallels group around domesticity, the life of the women. This also points to colonization. Male garrisons, occupation soldiery, could not have established such traits as childbed visiting, swaddling infants, blanket pins, guinea-pig breeding, funeral wailing, and suicidal gesture, or close co-operation between the sexes and between kindred.

Nor could Spanish state and Church have built up their systems of services and taxes and preserved them to this day had they not been dealing with groups already well conditioned to like systems. The *encomendero* felt himself to be a proper successor to the *curaca*, and some, if not all, of the Indian *tributarios* may have agreed to this point of view, particularly if their *encomendero* was married, as was Rodrigo de Salazar of Otavalo, to a lady of Inca lineage. Intermarriage to cement ties between conqueror and conquered was a marked Incaic practice. Peruvian empire paved a way for Spanish empire. The prestige of the Peruvian priest or sorcerer contributed to the acceptance of Spanish priest or *fraile*.

Divination was important in Inca Peru; divination persists in Imbabura —by omen and dream, by fire and guinea pig, the sacrificial animal.

Certain departures from Peruvian ways call for discussion. In Inca Peru young people served their parents until marriage, when the groom was given a prescriptive piece of arable land by the state and became an independent householder. Youths did not marry until the age of twenty-five.⁸ In Peguche, since the state does not distribute land, endowment falls upon parents, or the couple must earn enough to buy land. Meanwhile they live with parents and serve them. They marry young, but, as in Peru, they do not become independent householders until about the age of twenty-five. Theoretically, marriage still determines status; practically, it does not, since it is not accompanied by independent householding. As marriage did not greatly affect parental service and as the Church probably encouraged youthful marriage in accordance with its usual policy, it is clear why the age at marriage was reduced.

Not all variations from Peruvian practice can be as readily explained. Why did not the Peruvian cradleboard, with its peculiar drainage, persist? Why are there no potsherds indicating Peruvian influence? A premature query perhaps, since no adequate potsherd collections have been made.

⁸ Garcilasso, I, 82.

The Peruvian "foot plow" was established, near Quito at least, in the sixteenth century, but there is no use of it today in Ecuador. It yielded to the Spanish plow and bullock (although in small holdings it might be more useful than plowing by animals).

Excepting for attitudes toward the Mountains, toward Thunder and Lightning, toward Rainbow and, in Cayambe, at least among the women, toward the Moon if not toward the Sun, the Inca pantheon seems not to have been well established or enduring. Nor was it enduring in Peru; probably it was never as well established throughout the empire as Garcilasso, for one, would have us believe. Between present-day Peruvian and Ecuadorian supernaturals there are in myth fragments some striking parallels. The lord of the mountain lives in a richly provided place under a lake in the mountain, one of four sacrosanct lakes. Trespassers are sucked down into the waters or disappear. The mountain spirits engage in a throwing contest. They send disease and are associated with supernatural animals who are the patrons of sorcerers.

In the world of spirits our Andean Valley culture seems close also to that of lowland eastern Ecuador⁹ (see Table 2). In common we find a belief in hill or mountain spirits; mountain waterfalls lived in by spirits who impart power to bathers; female fire spirit; intense apprehension about disease or death from spirits or soul capture by spirits, including a Cat demon, spirit birds, and Rainbow; danger to menstruants from impregnation spirits; divinatory and spirit birds; association of cosmic spirits with spirit fauna (Rainbow with swine, Fire with Cat); witch or sorcerer complex which includes transformation into animals,¹⁰ possession by animals, and intoxication by rum or tobacco (as substitute for narcotics); intoxication by all adults as a means of self-assurance; interpretation of hallucinations as actual experience; dancing by men and women the character of which suggests that it may be derived from conceptualism similar to that back of Jibaro dancing, i.e., protection against spirit attack; designs on Imbabura food gourds which are out-and-out Jibaro and suggest that they, too, are to protect against spirit attack; the association of spirits with hair; cult of the dead.¹¹

⁹ Or to Indian Brazil. Note the relation between fauna and cosmic spirits (Thunder and wild pig), between animal familiars and shamans, the shamanistic dream travels, the intoxication of the shaman by tobacco, blowing smoke on patient in exorcism, supernatural danger in food, and soul capture after death by spirit animals or birds.

¹⁰ Note especially the story of the Man-Fox (pp. 139-40) and that the transformation is made by a witch in the Oriente visited by a highlander. Canelos and Napo River Indians are in communication with the highlanders (Karsten 3:335), and the far-flung Jibaro have had contacts with Canelos and Napo River people. Ecuadorian Jibaro and Peruvian Jibaro are alike (Karsten 4:80).

¹¹ "Among the Jibaros as among other South American Indians, all gods, spirits and demons seem to be nothing but departed human souls" (Karsten 4:366). Indeed, religion is a cult of the dead, of ancestors who become incarnate in nature, some good, some evil (*ibid.*, p. 455).

Saint's day dancing—name (Negro or Negrito), formation, flute-playing by dancers, braggadocio, and possibly female impersonation—suggests survival of some Jibaro-like war dance complex. The lack of dancing *por promesa* in sickness is negative support of the interpretation of saint's day cele-

TABLE 2

IMBABURA-JIBARO PARALLELS

Implements; Design; Pottery; Headdress, Jewelry	Intoxication; Disposition; Games; Music	Sickness, Death; Dreams and Hallucinations; Supernaturals; Ceremonial
Chonta wood spindle Blowgun (obsolete); bow and arrow unknown Designs incised on gourd, food bowls Designs on pottery from mounds; negative painting; red and black Pottery coiled, sun dried, fired; made by women Hair in braids (3, female; 5, male); great impor- tance attaching to hair; "devils" attracted into women's hair Jewelry as amulet; tight- fitting bracelets; red beads (stone)	Intoxication for self-assurance Fighting in intoxi- cation, women mediating Dancing for self- assurance Cleanliness and sense of order Independent, fight- ing disposition Games at wake (burning cotton game), at All Souls Flute, <i>pingullo</i> , panpipes, drum 3 favored	Through bewitchment; curing by witch at night, spraying herbal juice, sucking, ob- ject (specially a worm) sent back into be- witcher, intoxication of curer Soul capture at death Wailing Dreams prophetic Belief in hallucinations Intense apprehension about capture by spir- its and about disease or death from spirits, including the dead, Cat demon and Rain- bow Rainbow associated with spirit water-serpent or spirit swine Danger to menstruants from impregnating spirits—Bear, Rainbow Hill and mountain spirits, disease-sending Possession by spirit animals and by Rainbow Female fire spirit (Fire Mother, the owner of the hearth) Ritual bath; waterfall spirits imparting pow- er to bathers Divinatory and spirit birds Night wandering spirits (?) Spirit deer (early Quito), taboo on eating deer (Jibaro) Cult of the dead Medicine men had prestige and following (be- fore 1582) and at <i>huaca</i> talked with spirits <i>Baile de Negro</i> , war dance Dance formations Lack of political organization

bration as a former war celebration. For the two-faced bogey-clown dance mask we have found a parallel in northeastern Colombia, among the Cubeo Indians.

Among Jibaro there are war leaders, but chieftaincy, political organiza-
tion, is very little developed, and a clear field is left to the influence of the
shaman. We recall the emphasis placed on the influence of the shamans in

the *Relación of Otavalo* in 1582. There is no indication of any urge to political organization in Imbabura today or at earlier periods. Of course, political urge may have been suppressed together with leaders or chiefs by conquest, by Spanish conquest if not by Peruvian; but I surmise that the urge did not exist in any large degree and that war leaders and shamans controlled the pre-Conquest population somewhat as they do today in the lowlands.

In this connection it is of interest that a group of Indians from settlements near Otavalo, from Agato and San Roque, have shown in their physical type more affinity with Arawak Peruvian tribes living in the Upper Amazon drainage—the Machiganga and Machiyenga—than with Quechua and Aymará Indians of Bolivia or Peru or with Cayapa of the Ecuadorian coast.¹² Gillen suggests very tentatively that “since these peoples live close to the mountains and there is some reason to believe that they may have had access to the highlands and vice-versa, it is conceivable that the Otavalo and the Machiganga-Machiyenga represent marginal peoples of an earlier, physical strain of the Inca area, modified or pushed back in later Inca times by other elements from the Peruvian highlands.”¹³

So much for what is or may be aboriginal. What has been taken on from the Spaniards?

The tiled roof is, of course, Spanish and, in Peguche at least, of comparatively recent introduction. Manuel Lema lives on the same site his father lived but not in the same house. His father's house was thatched, and the Lemas, we recall, are among the most progressive people of Peguche. Earthen walls, at least as they are constructed today, are Spanish, and so are field walls, whether constructed in the same way as house walls or with earth merely piled up and planted on top with maguey. Manuel Lema's wall and lockable gate is distinctively modern, although his wall is only on one side of his property. The ample pillared portico is Spanish, but there are only a few such in Peguche. In every house there are some modern kitchen utensils, and some wooden chests of antique Spanish style, and some benches; chairs and modern tables are scarce. Bedsteads, although they may be aboriginal, are not found in every house, and children and guests always sleep on mats on the ground.

Among Old World introductions into the New World, the wheel always receives emphasis, but in our valley, aside from its recent use in spinning, it has not been introduced into Indian culture. Wagons are not used at all. All transportation is by back or by burro.

Ass, bullock, horse, swine, sheep, goat—all the domestic animals, excepting dog and guinea pig, are of Spanish introduction. Also fowls and pigeons,

¹² Gillen, pp. 192-93.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

which are scarce in Peguche. Scarce, too, are horses, burros, and bullocks for the plow. Inferably, the Peruvian foot plow was once in use, but it has been completely superseded by the Spanish metal-tipped plow. A few other metal tools are in use—ax, machete—and aboriginal hoe and spade are fortified with iron.

Barley, wheat, and various vegetables and fruits are the important Spanish contributions to crops and diet. All these are eaten in Peguche, sparsely

TABLE 3

IMBABURA-SPANISH (OR WHITE) PARALLELS (OR LOANS)

Housing, Furnishings; Domestic Animals, Fowl; Crops, Implements; Crafts; Trade	Family; Godparents; Language; Count; Music	Sickness; Supernaturals; Ritual, Calendar; State-Church Organization
Concrete-like house walls; roof tiles; corridor, lathe-turned posts	Patrilineal descent	Through bewitchment, "bad air"; curing by "scapegoat"
Wooden chest; bench; some kitchen utensils	Marriage restricted through third degree, both lines	Measles, smallpox
Burro, bullock, horse, swine, sheep, goat, fowl, pigeon	Ritual for baptism, marriage, funeral (adult and <i>child</i>)	The Dead
Plow, ax, machete, sickle	Godparents important	The Saints
Barley, wheat, vegetables, fruits	Spanish and hybrid terms in speaking	Demons
Rum	Quechua (15-20 per cent)	<i>Yus</i> (<i>Dios</i>)
Spanish loom, aniline dyes	Decimal count; 3 favored	Ritual: masking, dance dramatization; confession, prayer, crops (growing) blessed
Steel needle, sewing machine	Brass band (for <i>fiesta</i>) (Whites hired), violin, harp (child funeral, wedding)	Ceremonial calendar: saint's day, Holy Week, New Year, Cross Day, Corpus Cristi, All Souls; Sunday
Cotton suit (men), chemise (women)		<i>Padre, maestro (rezador), alcalde de capilla</i>
Felt or straw hat		<i>Mayordomía (cofradía)</i> system
Felt hatmaking (oven)		Early Spanish village government adapted to religious organization
Money; wage system		(?) Early local chieftaincies— <i>encomendero</i> or <i>hacendado</i>
Recorded land titles		(?) Service or tribute to chief—service or tithes to <i>encomendero, hacendado, Church</i>

excepting barley, but none except barley is grown there. A little sugar cane is grown, but sugar and rum are imported. Corn *chicha* and intoxication are undoubtedly aboriginal traits which in earlier days may have been discouraged by both Inca and Spanish¹⁴ administrators, but in recent periods, probably from the time the state began to derive revenue from licensing or taxing liquor vendors, consumption and intoxication among Indians have certainly increased.

¹⁴ In 1582 the Corregidor reports his Indian population to be in general inclined to the vice of drinking, and among them much drunkenness "although at present there is less opportunity for it than formerly" (*Relación de Otavalo*, p. 109).

In costume the men's cotton pantaloons and shirt are of Spanish introduction, but the shirt is worn Indian fashion. The felt hats of both men and women are Spanish; also, of course, the straw hats worn at weddings or as part of dance costume. The women's embroidered chemise is Spanish. Probably the use of an underskirt was due to Church influence.¹⁵ Then there are the steel needle and the modern sewing machine, which only a few women in Peguche can afford.¹⁶

Not only is Spanish a more or less supplementary language but a considerable number of Spanish words or phrases have found a place in Quechua: kinship and numerical terms, political and religious terms, terms for various objects or processes that have been borrowed from the Spanish economy. As in the case of other Indian languages that are borrowing from Spanish (or English), a close linguistic study would be of great interest, ethnologically as well as linguistically.

In Quechua, as in Zapoteco and other Indian languages, the first native kinship terms to disappear seem to be the uncle-aunt terms. I have long wondered why this is. Why do not the uncle-aunt terms hold their own as well as the brother-sister terms, which are also based on principles of classification distinct from the Spanish?

Marriage restrictions are Spanish, although they may correspond in part to pre-Spanish restrictions. What these were we do not know, but in Peru, at least, they were not identical with the Spanish, since Garcilasso states,¹⁷ referring to the Inca Pachacutec, "Reformer of the World": "He enacted many laws, all of which have been confirmed by our Catholic kings, except those relating to idolatry and to *forbidden degrees of marriage*."

Family rituals—baptism, marriage, and, in greater part, funeral—are Catholic. In general, ritual, ceremony, participation in religious organization, and religious ideology are all of Catholic provenience and usually of antiquated Catholic character.

However, in religion, as elsewhere, Spanish combined or fused with Indian, in the cult of the dead, perhaps in concepts of heaven and hell, and in dualistic ideology of good and evil spirits. At death the Incas returned to their father, the Sun, and continued to benefit their people,¹⁸ much like the saints. Indian and Catholic ritual for the dead—offering and prayer—

¹⁵ In the sixteenth-century reports on eastern highland Ecuador it is stated that the vestments (? kilts) of the men, originally very short so as not to hamper in warfare, are now (1580) made to the knees (Stirling, p. 33).

¹⁶ Price, up to three thousand sucres, but more now, since the tariff has been raised on it—very unwisely it would seem.

¹⁷ II, 204.

¹⁸ Cf. Garcilasso, I, 131.

is much the same, although the Indian prays *to* the dead and the Catholic prays *for* the dead. The idea of punishment by torture was rendered familiar by the Inca torture dungeon so that the conceptualism of the Church pictures of hell was not unfamiliar.¹⁹ The Church dogmas about afterlife appear to have taken hold much better in our valley than among the Zapotec of Mexico or the Pueblos of our Southwest, the other Catholicized Indians I know best. Possibly this is because indigenous concepts of the life after death were different, Zapotec and Pueblos having a continuity concept not found in Andean circles—indeed, not characteristic of South America. Reincarnation in birds or beasts, soul loss or capture, are concepts lending themselves to beliefs in Hell or Purgatory. Generally, in Indian ideology the same spirit works for good or for evil, whereas in the Christian pantheon there is a dichotomy of good spirits and evil spirits. Since the Church habitually classified all non-Christian spirits as evil spirits, devils, it is difficult to be sure that any aboriginal spirit was actually an evil spirit in pre-Conquest days. Supay may have been an ambivalent spirit acting to the disadvantage of man until placated by him. Indeed, this was the concept held in early Quito, where they had great fear of Supay, and they made him sacrifices and offerings, they said, because he was angry, and that he might do them no harm.²⁰ (Again offerings might be made merely as a kind of tribute to the spirit *owner*, as in Cayambe today.)²¹

The idea of a ceremonial calendar, solar and lunar, is both Spanish and Indian, as is the habit of punctuating time by festivals. It must have been easy for the Church to substitute its feasts for Indian feasts similarly periodic. Even historic continuity may be inferred in the feast of San Juan or feast of San Pedro in lieu of Raymi. At these celebrations dramatization, dance, procession, and music were in order for Spaniards and Indians. We noted very specific forms of acculturation at these feasts. The cult of the saints through the *prioste* or *mayordomía* system seems wholly Spanish both in Ecuador and Mexico, until you read how in pre-Conquest Yucatan particular men were chosen for the year to carry out festivals, of how each guest was obligated "to return an invitation to his host," and of how they would spend on one banquet all they made by many days of trading or scheming.²²

Among both peoples a few ritual or other patterns were enough alike to fuse readily: decimal count; three as a favored numeral; inhalation and kiss;

¹⁹ Indeed, it may have been aboriginal. "They also believed that there was a place of punishment for bad men, where they were tormented by demons called Supay. They said that those who went there, suffered much hunger and thirst, and that their food was charcoal, snakes, toads, and other things of that kind" (Molina, p. 48). I surmise missionary influence, but it was effectual very early.

²⁰ Quito, 1573, p. 93.

²¹ See Appendix, p. 215.

²² Landa, pp. 35, 71, 78, 79.

masking; clowning;²³ offerings; shrine; use of the cross.²⁴ Placing a Catholic cross at an Indian shrine, an act of acculturation common elsewhere in Spanish America, seems unfamiliar in the valley. But there are few crosses anywhere, the one in front of the Peguche chapel and the roadside cross near Cotocachi are those I best remember. The roadside cross where the Indians cleanse against fatigue and the Whites burn a candle for a traveler murdered is a conspicuous, although superficial, instance of acculturation. There is no market cross.²⁵

In Mexico the market is an institution both Indian and Spanish. That it is Indian as well as Spanish seems uncertain in Ecuador.

The Church and state system is Spanish, but there was much in pre-Conquest organization allowing for fusion. Thirds are due the Inca,²⁶ tithes and first fruits are due the Church. The Spanish *encomienda* system in which men were tied to the land and were obliged to render special services²⁷ coincided with the Yanacuna near-peonage of Cuzco and Quito, if not with the general Incaic system of landholding or working on roads, bridges, or ditches. Indeed, in the royal edicts regulating *encomiendas* the women peons are called *mita*, a Quechua term referring to public work by families—*mita-chanacuy*, to take turns according to families.²⁸

In early times the great house of the chief was a place to meet in and drink; the house of the Spanish overlord did not meet this need, of course,

²³ Cf. Parsons and Beals. The Negritos clown very little. But they and their *capitanes* are not unimportant personages. My guess is that they represent the executive messengers of the pre-Spanish *curaca* and his "*capitanes*," the *cacha* who summoned to work (just as do the masked clowns of the Pueblos).

The two Society attendants of the Šerénte of northern Brazil have many Mexican and North American clown traits. Each represents one of the moieties. Like Mayo-Yaqui "clowns," they fetch firewood for ceremonies, provide drinking water, and carry clothing or weapons for participants. They may give Society members nicknames and make them ridiculous. Like a Hopi "clowning" society, they are exposed to ribald jests by a woman's society (Nimuendajú and Lowie, pp. 412, 414).

²⁴ Garcilasso, I, 110-11.

²⁵ As there used to be, I think, in Mexico, and as there was in the early English village market, to mark the "market peace."

²⁶ Division by thirds was practiced even in early Spanish Ecuador in connection with the flocks held by a community and representing restitution from their *encomendero* for failing to indoctrinate them. The wool was made into cloth, blankets, sack cloth, mattresses (*jerga*), and hats, and these were stored in a box with three keys, one for the friar or priest charged with indoctrination, one for the corregidor if there were one, otherwise to the "alcalde of the work," and the third for the cacique (Quito, 1573, pp. 97-98).

²⁷ As in the early English system of villeinage some of these services were performed individually, others, by work party. There were also *benes*, bean days (cf. "bee" for work party), when the workers were given food and drink and the work was over early in the afternoon (Homans, pp. 260 ff., 273). Inferably, the *minga* today for town or *hacendado* and the *yanapa* work system derive through the *encomienda* manorial system.

²⁸ Garcilasso, II, 33.

and the houses of the rotating *capitanes* or *priostes* sufficed only infrequently. The *chicherías*, the *estancos*, became the makeshift; in these public yards owned and run by Whites we see, somewhat to our surprise, ancient Indian practices going on, ceremonials of dance and song and ritual feasting.

The *encomendero*, later the *hacendado*, took the place of the *curaca*. Fights between hacienda peons at festivals may represent both earlier interchieftain conflicts over boundaries as well as the parish fights which were not only Spanish but early English or European.²⁹ Possibly the *droit du seigneur*, now in a changed form taken over by the priests, and other less formal claims upon Indian girls, were yielded the *patrón* readily enough by those accustomed to chiefly polygyny or to Houses of the Chosen Virgins. For humble folk, Indian or Spanish, monogamy was required.

In the folk tales there has been for the setting of the tale—the background—considerable fusion of Spanish and Indian, as might be expected; but only in one tale, “Chipicha,” are Spanish and Indian tale episodes or elements combined. “Chipicha” begins as a Spanish tale and concludes as an Indian tale. We may suppose that the Spanish introduction of the hateful step-mother, the abandoned children, and the cannibal was drawn into the tale because it supplies so neatly circumstances for encountering the cannibal. The cannibal who would *bake* the children is Spanish, but the cannibal of *two mouths* is Indian. I think Chipicha and her likeness—the dual-faced, clown-bogey mask—are paralleled by, if not derived from, the two-headed bogey spirit and mask of the Cubeo people of Colombia.

In our Indian Spanish tales there is the same sort of stratification into old layer and new as occurs among other Hispanicized Indians, the Rabbit cycle and the Saint or Jesucristo tale being older than novelistic tales such as Blanca Flor. However, from Cayambe the tale of the spirit or devil bridegroom is well acculturated. It is an African version, one more instance of how folk tales may precede other traits where contacts are slight; in this area there were and there are very few Negroes and, as far as I know, no other Negro influence.

²⁹ In medieval England congregations formed by separation from an older parish went in procession to honor the mother-church on the saint's day or “wake,” and in 1236 the Bishop of Lincoln forbade that in these processions “any parish fight to go before another parish with its banners, since thereof are accustomed to arise not brawls only, but cruel bloodshed” (Hornes, pp. 372-73). This seems to answer the question about the provenience of the saint's day fighting in Mexico barrios (Parsons 2:6) and elsewhere.

APPENDIX

NOTES ON THE PARISH OF JUAN MONTALVO¹ CANTON OF CAYAMBE, PICHINCHA PROVINCE

A. POPULATION AND ECONOMY²

In 1938 a census was taken, and 2,627 persons were enumerated, living in 317 houses, 306 with tile roof and 11 with thatched roof—over seven persons to a household. On the two streets there are seven two-story houses. Two of these are owned by Wenceslao Farinango, the "Gobernador," who is also one of the *cabecillas* or headmen for the haciendas. Another two-story house is owned by Félix Maldonado, father of two of our informants. Off the streets there are walled lanes, and from house to house, through the fields, a network of paths. As usual, the homes characterized by White culture and the two *chicherías* are on the streets, and the homes of Indian culture are on the lanes or unwalled, one from the other.

The house is placed in a corner or in the center of a man's lot (*cua**dra*), on the highest spot so he can overlook his holding, also for drainage in the rainy season and so that the winds may blow through, "taking with them all the bad." The lot is inclined from east to west (the long axis), and the house generally faces west, so that the strong southeast winds of the dry season (July–September) do not beat upon it.

Every house has two rooms. The rooms of the tile house are noncommunicating, each opening onto the corridor. There is but one outside door in the "straw" house, and the rear room opens into the front room (Fig. 3). There are no windows, and

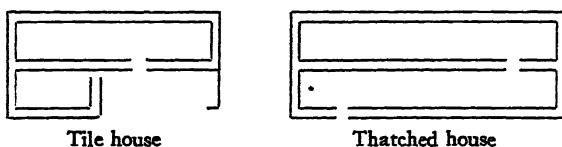


FIG. 3

only a small perforation for the sun's rays. The rear and middle walls of the tile house are about $3\frac{1}{2}$ meters, the front wall, 2 meters. The front wall of the "straw" house is much lower. In housebuilding, the *cabestro*, the halter, is used as a measure; for land, the *bara*, the Spanish yard.

In many houses the large room serves as kitchen and bedroom. It has a loft for grain. The guinea pigs stay in this room. In other houses the small room may be used as a bedroom for the married people or exclusively as a kitchen. In the center

¹ The settlement has neither church nor chapel and depends on the one church in the municipality of Cayambe for religious service. It is therefore only a parish by courtesy, an embryonic parish. The plaza site where the people expect to build a chapel and a school was pointed out to me. It seems probable that the settlement was made within a few generations, say a century ago, or even less, by hacienda Indians who managed to acquire land and a measure of independence.

² From report written by Segundo Félix Maldonado and partially checked by E. C. P.

of the hearth there is a pit to preserve the embers—often there are no matches, and neighboring houses may be at a little distance. (In the Maldonado house there is a roughly built cook stove or oven, besides the oven used for dyeing. Guinea pigs have been banished.)

In front of every house is a court with a little "cherry" tree or a eucalyptus. Here people thresh their barley or wheat, and here they dance on feast days. As elsewhere, much of the household activity goes on in the corridor. Here the loom is set up, and here meals may be eaten.

Everybody farms, men plowing and women sowing, generally in October, November, and December, and women and girls gleaning. During the three months from July through September all are occupied with the harvests—maize, wheat, barley, beans—some on their own lands, some on the haciendas, working on shares or for money. They also thresh for the hacienda and carry grain. The rest of the year men may work on the haciendas or elsewhere or for the municipality of Cayambe, or they work for themselves.

There is some specialization in handicrafts. All the women can beat wool and are accomplished (*maestras*) spinners, but some women are more distinguished for skill and dexterity than others; one out of a hundred can run a sewing machine. Men weave but not every man, and among weavers there is specialization. Master weavers (*maestros*) and dyers (in black and in colors) are Félix Maldonado and three others. They can weave ponchos, *bayetas* (blankets), *bayeton* (coating), *pañolones* (shawls), *jerga* (coarse cloth), and anything else. Four other men can weave ponchos and blankets. Three other men can weave blankets and only blankets. Seven other men can weave ponchos and only ponchos. Two men weave saddle blankets. One of these is one of the weavers of ponchos and blankets. One man has learned in school to make hooked rugs as saddle blankets. Only the Indian loom is used, although Félix Maldonado has the Spanish loom on which *he first learned to weave when he was growing up on a hacienda*. Félix is one of the eight dyers. He has a dyeing oven, and cloth is brought him to dye. He weaves for a town factory or for White merchants that supply thread or wool, a very different system from that of Peguche, where middleman practice as far as it exists is still in Indian hands except possibly for some end transactions in Quito.

On the lower street lives and works a felt hatmaker, a White man. Here, too, lives Francisco Andrango Cabezas, our informant, who learned cabinetmaking as an apprentice in Quito. There are a carpenter of the bench, and his sons, and seven sawyers and squarers of timber, of whom two are weavers. There are eight tile-makers, of whom two, including Félix Maldonado, are weavers. There are four *adoberos* who are all tile-makers. There are ten master-masons, *maestros tapialeros*, who build field walls (*corridas*, divisions) and house walls, of whom one is also a tile-maker; one, a sawyer and squarer of timber and a weaver; and, a third, a weaver. There are six master-stonemasons and stonecutters who make millstones, posts (*pilares*), *malones*, *sillares*, *tapacaños*, *pilones* (troughs), *umbrales* (lintels). Inferably, these stoneworkers are White.

Two itinerant traders, of whom one is an *adobero* and tile-maker.

Three White women and two men keep *chicherías* or *cantinas* (*chicha* and *trago*). Five other women work on *chicha* (selling only on Sundays). Three women work in stores in Cayambe, and two men work there making pottery.

When children, both boys and girls, are not in school, they are sent out to herd the animals—cattle, horses, sheep, goats. Girls will go spinning in the field. Parents want to keep the children under their control by sending them out to herd. When children are in school, parents "have hours of great despair." Parents are not in-

terested in the school. "They say that taking care of animals is the primary aim in life, that with the school you don't get anywhere; the children won't be worth anything to them. They want the children to care for the animals with zeal because that way they can sell their sheep or pigs, or barter for blouses, shawls, coats, hats, and so be content."

However, about 80 per cent of the younger children have been in school. Since the schools, one for boys and one for girls, have been established only a short time, most of the adults are unlettered. At fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen boys may go to work as day laborers at a small wage; at eighteen or nineteen they earn the wage of a man. Girls who do not have animals to take care of or wool to spin do day labor for *patrones* or for the municipality.

A TYPICAL DAY

On arising quite early (see below), a man will clean the yard, then he goes to see how the animals roped in the corner have passed the night and to take a turn around the planting and give grass to the animals, and then he may collect wood. By the time he gets back, his wife has ready the lunch (*almuerzo*) of cracked barley and thin potatoes with meal and lard. Sometimes in this dish there is beef or mutton or, rarely, pork; sometimes cabbage or onions. Generally, there is but this one dish.

After eating, the man will water the animals, change their rope (*soga*), and throw them grass. Then he may set to sorting wool or to making rope. In the afternoon he again visits his animals and changes their places or fastens them well in field or corral.

On arising, a woman prepares breakfast, anything at hand. Then as early as six she will clean house. (They do not follow the custom [White custom] of sprinkling water to clean.) Then she sets herself to opening hard wool or beating wool. After this, she considers what she can prepare in the kitchen. She may say to herself, "I must cook quinoa with thin potatoes and pigskin and a lot of cheese." She also looks after the animals of the house: guinea pigs, rabbits, chickens, doves, and, in some houses, turkeys and ducks. After lunch she sits down to spin or sew.

A girl in the family may say, "*Mamita*, let's do something!"

"What did you say?" the mother asks.

"*Mamita*, let's make *mondongo* (beef trotters) with hulled wheat³ for supper."

"If you are diligent (*curiosa*) and want to eat, get up and hull the wheat because the *mondongo* was singed last night."

"*Mamita*, I can't hull wheat," the girl may answer.

"Useless one, you want to eat, but you do not want to do anything.!" They wash the *mondongo* and put it into a large clay bowl containing boiling water; later they put in the wheat. They peel all the *mondongo* to put in everybody's plate; it is customary to give the skull to the father or husband. He picks contentedly at the bones.

Usually the supper is a dish of *quinoa*, etc., mixed as above. The wooden spoons and wooden or clay bowls are washed *before eating*. The woman sits down to serve the supper to each member of the household, who is seated on a stool with his bowl in hand. Each eats three or four bowlfuls. They sit around the mother. Having finished supper, which may be as early as six, they go early to sleep.

They sleep on the floor, spreading out sheepskins or goatskins, a block of wood covered with coat or poncho for a pillow, and *bayeta* or poncho for cover. They do not undress. As a rule, they sleep from seven to nine hours.

³ Ground only enough to remove the hull.

LAND TENURE AND INHERITANCE

About 80 per cent of the population (heads of families) own land. If the holding is large, it is worked by *minga*,⁴ and at harvest the *mingueros* receive what the owner allots them.

To the eldest son or daughter "of advanced age" according to his or her capability parents give [intrust] a piece of land to cultivate. In this way they try out their offspring, because they believe a son is good, generous or stingy, miserly (*miserable*), according to what he produces. In many cases parents give [*loan* (see below)] a bit of land or an animal to their married offspring for a separate establishment. If these offspring are intelligent and understanding, they *buy* this land before their parents die and *become absolute owners*..

A dying man may summon the *teniente político* to draw up a will or, if this official is not available, the schoolteacher or any elder who knows how. There must be two witnesses, men, over legal age, to sign the testament. Whoever draws up the testament will have it in his keeping. The dying father dictates, assigning all the property he is entitled to assign, i.e., *half* the joint conjugal property. "To Juan I give such a piece of land," he will say. "To Manuel such a piece of land," etc. He begins with the big things and goes on to the last item. The testator distributes according to his or her affection (*simpatía*) to his or her children or to other beloved persons. As indicated, a surviving spouse retains half the joint property.

A *huitachisca*, a person brought up from early age in the household, will receive for the services he has rendered a fourth or fifth part according to how much he has endeared himself to the testator.

If a person dies intestate, half goes to the surviving spouse and half to the offspring, in equal parts, to the most trivial things.

Offspring may not be equally close to their parents; some may have served them, and others may have left the household at an early age. Others, again, may have treated their parents badly. These may be disinherited by testament or given only a third (? lesser) part. If the parents die intestate and an absent son returns and makes a claim to the inheritance, his brothers may not receive him or, receiving him, courteously inform him he has no part in the inheritance or only a fourth part. He may say, "But I am a son, the same as the rest of you, and I have a right to an equal share."

"No, *señor*; you are a son, yes, but you have not served the same way we have; for this reason you have no right," the others say.

"Let me see the will," he will say. If there is no will and if he has neither means to contest nor patience to fight his brothers, he will sell to anyone the right of shares, *derecho de acciones*. This purchaser will bring suit and will receive the legal inheritance.

Formerly, my mother tells as her parents told her, there were not many families as today, and only two or three little straw houses. The families cultivated land according to their capacity (*fuerza*), the rest was common land, untilled, uninclosed, an enormous plain, *el llano*. As the families increased, it was customary to upturn (*volcar*) land as a kind of deed, always with witnesses or the *curaca* to direct it. This made a man owner and lord of this land where he built a house and lived independently of his parents. In course of time, ambitious for land, families spread over the whole plain, becoming landowners, and there was no longer common land to turn up. Then those who had too much land or for other reasons would sell land, a *cuadra* for 5 pesos, 10 pesos, 20 pesos, according to situation or fertility. Today, if the lot

⁴ See pp. 187-88.

is located on the main street and the soil is fertile, it costs 1,500 sucres. A lot less fertile and far from the main street cost as little as 400 sucres.

The main street, running southwest-northeast, is kept in repair sometimes by the people themselves, sometimes through money contributions from Don Heriberto Maldonado. Other streets are kept open through Don Heriberto.

Economic inequality, aggressive inequality, is severely condemned, if the following statements are to be taken at face value.

"The rich: We have a few rich men. Not one of them has sympathy for the poor, and unless they are relatives we have nothing to do with these *señores*. [Eleven men are listed, of whom Wenceslao Farinango, the 'governor' and a *cabecilla* is one. The other *cabecillas* are not among them, but one of the two itinerant merchants is listed in this disreputable class, also including two of the owners of a two-story house.] Where work is concerned, they are greedy, every day more ambitious. If a person is sick, they are incapable of saying, 'You have helped me to work, take this money so you may cure yourself with it.' No, this they do not say. They keep on saving money, saying to themselves, 'I can buy more land, more and more land.' The more they own, the more stingy they become, the more *miserable*. They neither eat or sleep or they sleep only late at night (at eleven) and get up at one or two or three in the morning, crazily intent on securing peons by foul means."

AGRICULTURAL AND COOKING PRACTICES AND LORE⁵

On planting potatoes or on finishing the planting, the sharers (*partidarios*) and planters throw *curpos*, hunks of earth, at one another, hitting each other's hands and saying *raco papa*, "large potato." This means that they will harvest large potatoes. Once this is finished, they sit down to eat *aji de cuy*, guinea pig with chili, and afterward get drunk on *chicha*. All this is to make the potatoes ripen, because, they say, when they do not make the *aji de cuy*, the potatoes do not get ripe.

If you plant corn without having breakfast or lunch, there will be few kernels on the cob.

Having finished planting, if you start to catch fleas, the ear will be worm-eaten. If you take an ear from the field and roast it when the crop is just beginning to mature, the standing ears become worm-eaten.

When squash (*zambos*) are in flower, gather some blossoms, throw them in the road and pile stones on top; in order that squash may be produced, a woman close to giving birth should go around the plants while the owner whips the plants with nettles.

When piling grain, maize, barley, or anything into a mound, never sweep upon finishing because before a year or before its time the grain will be finished, and you will have nothing to eat.

When digging potatoes, do not peel the plants (take off the tops of the plants) before digging on all sides of the mound, otherwise the largest potatoes lose themselves. If you peel any plants before digging the potatoes, the potatoes will become thin throughout the field.

WORK PARTY⁶

For wheat or barley harvest (as for house-building or wall-building), the *mingueros* on their arrival are given a gourd of *chicha* or *guarango*, fermented agave fruit. After two hours' work a lunch of whole potatoes with peppers (*aji*) or cooked and

⁵ Reported by Francisco Andrango Cabezas.

⁶ Reported by Segundo Félix Maldonado.

seasoned beans⁷ is supplied and *after that* a little *chicha*. If the work is close to the house, the workers are taken there; otherwise the woman of the house carries the food to the place of work. After the lunch, they return to work with alacrity. The owner directs the work, with a mild and friendly voice. But, as people always work with good will, there is no need of an overseer, especially when *chicha* is not lacking.

As they go cutting with the sickle, a man follows behind playing a horn (*bocina*) to give happiness to all that they may cut with more spirit and valor and enthusiasm (F. A. C.).

The wives of the workers follow behind to glean (*chucchir*, "the gleaning," *chuchichi*).⁸ They do not gather from the ground, only from the heads (*gavillas*), because, they say, "for this is my husband helping."

At five the work stops, and the men and women go to the house of the owner for supper and then a little *chicha*. The day the work is concluded they finish up the supply of *chicha*, and all get drunk. Then they say the *minga* has been very good.⁹ The owner formally thanks the *mingueros*, who go to their houses carrying their *chingas*, their gleaning.

The *minga* is to provide for a reciprocity of services.

HACIENDA LABOR¹⁰

There are three classes of peon. A person enters the hacienda as if selling himself. He receives from the *patrón* a *huasipungo* or piece of land to plant, the right to keep three animals in the pasture, and thirty centavos a day. (Before the government of Eloy Alfaro, thirty years ago, it was five centavos.) This *concierto* has to work very hard in the field and is ill treated by the servants [superintendents]. So he may want to leave the hacienda, but he cannot do so because the *patrón* does not consent. Besides, he gets into debt with the hacienda in a way he can never pay up. At death many leave their children in pawn. If they escape from the hacienda, the *patrón* will communicate from town to town, capture them, take them back to the hacienda and punish them ferociously.¹¹ That is the reason many went to the coast or to Peruchó, where they alter their dress and let their hair grow like those of Imbabura. In Juan Montalvo there are no *peones* of this class.

The second class of peon is somewhat free. He receives his *huasipungo* and can have animals in the pasture, but he may leave the hacienda at any time or remain as long as he wishes.

⁷ Or hominy. The owner calls the workers, saying: "Por Dios taiticos bonitos caballeritos [For God, little fathers, handsome gentlemen, come and take one at least!]" The workers surround the basket and respond, "Dios se lo pague, taita [May God pay for it, father!]" In case anyone does not drink from the gourds of *chicha* that are passed around, he is whipped into drinking (F. A. C.).

⁸ Cf. Homans, p. 372, for the right of the poor to glean in early England; also in Mexico.

⁹ If food and drink are not well provided, the people say that another time they will not go because, they say, "food one must throw lavishly, drink one must throw lavishly, otherwise you are useless, with no resistance" (F. A. C.).

¹⁰ Written by Segundo Félix Maldonado. Note that he describes first the *concertaje* or serf-like system, which is now illegal in the Republic, and then the prevailing system for hacienda Indian labor, relating it conceptually to the pre-existent system, not to any modern wage system.

¹¹ *Concertaje*, "debt servitude," was abolished by law in 1918, but in some parts it is said to survive (Saenz, pp. 105-10). *Concertaje* existed in Guatemala until 1934, when a vagrancy law provided that nonlandowning agricultural laborers must spend a minimum of 150 days annually in agricultural work; those owning a specified plot must spend 100 days. This makes a large labor supply available, because the Indian holdings are small (Siegel).

The third class can work a week or fifteen days or until they finish the work. They have no *huasipungo*, but they may keep animals in the pasture. If the work is not for a hacienda, the owner or overseer pays a *diario*, a daily pay, higher than that paid to those with *huasipungo* or pasturage. For the haciendas of Hato, the mill of Chahuarpungo, Ancholac, and Monjas men work in return for pasture for sheep and other animals and for a daily wage. Such work is called *yanapa*.

Hacienda labor is arranged for through Indian headmen, *cabecillas*. Each hacienda is represented in Juan Montalvo by one or two who plan for the labor at *mingas* as well as for seasonal employment. One *cabecilla* may be agent for several haciendas. Five *cabecillas* are listed for Juan Montalvo. Francisco Andrango Cabezas grumbles about them. They do not defend the rights of a poor man in trouble with a hacienda or with the municipality; they merely make presents of guinea pigs, hens, and eggs to the judges and others.

HUNTING

Hunting is not disparaged, as in Imbabura. Before a *fiesta*, to get meat, two or three men may go deer-hunting, with dogs and guns. In the celebration of San Pedro, deer horns are carried by dancers, and the whole pelt and head of a fox (Sp. *lobo*; Q. *atu*) are worn.

To the corridor post of every house, deer horns are fastened, just as cow horns are fastened in Imbabura.

B. NAMES

BAPTISMAL		
Spanish	Indian	Otavaleño
Juan	Juanti	
Antonio	Ando	Toni
Alberto	Albes	
Manuel	Manucu	
Miguel	Migicho	
Francisco	Pachu	Panchito
Nicolás	Nicuchu	
Estebán	Ishti	
Luis	Luchu	
Alejandro	Alejo	
Selverio	Shilve	
Santiago	Sandia	
Lorenzo	Luri	
Segundo	Sigun	
Vicente	Bisi	
María	Maruja	Maruja, Marika
Lucila	Lucil	
Josefa	Josi	
Mercedes	Michi	Michita
Andrea	Ande	
Dolores	Dolor, Lola	Lolita
Matilde	Matika	

Baptismal names remaining unchanged are Rafael, José, Pedro, Carlos, Mariano, Alfonso, Felipe, Matías, Daniel, Petrona, Paula, Rosa (Rosita), Carmela, Carmen, and Tomasa.

SURNAMES

Indian ¹²	Spanish
Andrango	Abalco
Cabascango	Acero
Cachiguango	Biscaino (Sp. Viscayno)
Caluguillín	Cabezas
Catucuamba	Carrillo
Charro	Chávez
Chicáiza	Díaz
Chimarro	Guzmán
Cuyago	Hernandez
Farinango	Maldonado
Gualavisín	Mariscal ¹⁶
Guamán	Monteros
Imbago	Mosquera
Quiliguango	Navas
Quimbiamba	Peñafiel
Quimbiulco	Proaño
Quishpe	Rojas
Titiguaña ¹³	Sánchez
Túqueres ¹⁴	Vásquez
Tandayamo	
Tipanluisa	
Toapanta ¹⁵	
Tutillo	
Yagualcota	

¹² Some have changed names to Sánchez, to sound less Indian. Such change goes on quite often when a person has acquired sufficient money to think he can and should pass for a Cholo, and occasionally some of the poor relatives change names at the same time.

No doubt some of the Spanish names came in this way, some by "mésalliances" and others by adopting the names of *patrones*, etc. However, none of the names of the great *hacendados* of the section: Bonifáz, Ascásubi, Del Alcázar, etc., appear in the list—which perhaps in itself means nothing because, where the aristocrats had children by Indian women, they seldom would countenance the offspring's bearing the great name. It is perhaps stranger that only one of the important names of the White townspeople shows up in the list, as Indians living close to town often adopt these names now when they prefer to be considered Cholos. The town names are Jarrín (there is an absolute plague of this name there), Espinoza, Zapata, Cartagena, Jirón, Hinojosa, and Maldonado.

The Maldonado family in the town is now wealthy and hobnobs with the "upper crust" of Jarríns and Espinozas, and the boys will no doubt marry into these families. However, these town Maldonados are close relatives of our Indian Maldonados, of quite Indian type. The mother dresses in skirts of bright colored *bayeta*, as a rich Chola, although there is little difference in that region between Indian and Chola costume. These town Maldonados acquired money and social position with a flour mill.

¹³ From Guachalá, across the river of that name from Juan Montalvo.

¹⁴ Name of town in southern Colombia. The name is the *segundo apellido* of Félix Maldonado.

¹⁵ "Foreigner" from Guaytacama, south of Quito, married into Maldonado family.

¹⁶ "Foreigner" from Machachi.

C. LORE ABOUT MENSTRUATION, CONCEPTION, PREGNANCY
BIRTH, CHILD-REARINGMENSTRUATION¹⁷

They say that it is never good for women to cross the river Guachalá because something bad happens to them or their menses are checked.

Sometimes the River Guachalá runs as white water (foams), likewise the irrigation ditches. They say the Mountain Mother (Urco Mama), the owner of the mountain (*la dueña del cerro*) is having her monthly (*está con el mes*) or, vulgarly, *está con la regla*.

MULTIPLE BIRTHS

The terms of reference for multiple births are: *ishcayta cachashca*, "two I sent";¹⁸ *diospa castillaca*¹⁹ (? *cashllaca*),²⁰ "made by God."²¹ Some say this is luck (*suerte*), meaning increase, whether in produce or in money, wealth. Others say the conception has been from two begetters among animals (*porque ha concebida de dos reproductores en los animales*), i.e. (?), one begetter is an animal (a spirit animal).

SPIRIT IMPREGNATION

Impregnation by Rainbow is implied in the following true story (*un caso muy verídico*).²²

"Once the mother of my *mamacita* went to the shore of the Río Guachalá (or Cangahua) about three in the afternoon and the sun lit up some drizzling clouds and there was a rainbow. My little grandmother (*abuelita*) came to a spring. What was her surprise to see some baby pigs, pretty and fat, with very luminous hair and on their shoulders bands of different colors. The little pigs were grunting and playing in the water, and, as she watched them, they disappeared in the mouth of the spring. My little grandmother became pregnant. The child was born very white, with hair blond [red] like the flame of a candle; he was very intelligent and intuitive. His mother said she must have been enveloped by the Rainbow (*debe ser envuelto del cuichic*) to have given birth to a child of this kind. The neighbors said the father was a White man. The child died when he was about four, of the black smallpox which at that time was pursuing children and young people."

¹⁷ Written by Francisco Andrango.

¹⁸ Peguche: *ishkaita wachashka*, twinning for women and for double ear of maize, which is also referred to as *wawaiu sara*.

¹⁹ ? *castigo de Dios*.

²⁰ 'kallay, "split" (Middendorf).

²¹ Canelos Indians believe that a spirit (*supai*) is father of the second child, and so they kill it. The belief and practice are common in Ecuador except among Jibaro, who welcome twins but kill defective children as demon-conceived (Karsten 4: 221-22).

To placate demons attracted to the bride and to prevent twinning, Canelos Indians perform peculiar wedding rites. The first night the couple sleep in separate houses; this night belongs to the demon, and the bridegroom will be endangered if he sleeps with his bride. The second night is also critical, so a twin birth is simulated with bananas representing twins. One of the "banana babes" is cast away. For the other a godfather (*comparu*) volunteers. He names the "banana babe" and keeps it until the first child is born, for whom he will be godfather (Karsten 4: 210-11).

See Ávila, pp. 124-31, for a tale of magical impregnation that is closely paralleled in our Southwest, where we may note, too, that the Horned Water Serpent impregnates women.

²² Written by Segundo Félix Maldonado.

ABORTION²³

Abortion (*mal parto*) may be caused by jumping a conduit, by running fast or a great deal, by a fall, by a very heavy load, or by the whim of eating something the woman cannot afford to get. An abortion at three or four months may cause death. So they cure the woman by giving her a drink of very hot water in which the sexual organs of her husband have been washed. This procedure they call "the hand of God." Many women have died because they did not know about it.

The same procedure is good when the afterbirth does not fall.

DETERMINING SEX²⁴

When a woman has given birth to sons only or to daughters only, in order that the next time there may be a change in sex, they turn the afterbirth around. "No *sabio*, no scientific investigator, has discovered the secret of acquiring a child of the sex desired. It seems that Indians have in nearly everything profound secrets, based on nature."

BIRTH²⁵

A few hours before childbirth the woman feels pain. Although she may not tell about it, it is soon apparent to the family, who say "De hacer fregar será [It might be time for her to be rubbed]", and they fetch the midwife. The midwife has the woman lie down, then she massages (*vacia*, "grinds") forward from the flanks (as "they are called in the animals") toward the belly.

The pain continues, and each time it becomes sharper. Now the midwife has the woman get on her knees with her legs open. Once the woman is on her knees the midwife presses on the base of the spine (*rabadilla*) and downward from the belt at the same time, saying "Pujaylla, pujaylla [Close the mouth]," urging her to close her mouth tight.

In case the birth is not easy, the midwife makes a smudge of straw in the middle of the room, and the woman stands over it a few moments. Then they continue as before. Also they take her up and shake her a little from side to side, and they give her an infusion of *lutoyuyo*, "rubbing first with the hand in order that the placenta may come out."

Until the placenta comes down, they do not cut the cord lest it remain in the belly, which is very dangerous. They leave a hand length of cord, seven or eight centimeters. *They believe if they leave it a little long, the organ will grow longer; if they cut it less than is natural, the organ will shrink.*

They are careful to make the infant cry so that it may breathe and not be asphyxiated. They swaddle it quickly so that the blood may not go to its head.

CONFINEMENT

After twenty-four hours the infant is suckled.

For three weeks the mother is fed eggs and broth of chickens and hens, and morning and afternoon she is given an infusion of *colantrillo de pozo* (maidenhair fern) with sugar until she is well, that is for "the thirty days, when she can walk more or less well."

²³ Written by Segundo Félix Maldonado.

²⁴ Written by Segundo Félix Maldonado.

²⁵ From a dictation to Segundo Félix Maldonado by his father, Félix Maldonado.

BAPTISM²⁶

The infant that is to be baptized may be taken feet foremost not out of the house door but out of a hole made in the wall of the house. The godparent is waiting outside and has to pay the person who has reached the baby out; if the godparent does not pay, the baby will soon die. This custom is followed especially by women who cannot suckle their infants and whose infants almost always die.

DENTITION²⁷

The person first to see the first tooth erupting should be paid something, otherwise the first teeth will decay. If he is paid, if only a little, the teeth remain sound until the second dentition.

D. BETROTHAL AND WEDDING²⁸

After the preliminary parental visit²⁹ and after the girl's parents are treated incidentally to drinks by the man's parents whenever they happen to meet at drinking parties, after such tacit acceptance comes the *pedido* or *la obligación*, the asking or the obligation. The man's parents will visit the girl's parents on three Saturday nights, between eight and nine o'clock, taking with them the *pedido* (*a dar* [or *para llevar*] *el pedido*), which consists of a jar of *chicha compuesta* (*chicha* well prepared), baskets of bread, wooden bowls (*azafates*) of *mediano* (peeled potatoes, with sauce, hard-boiled eggs, and guinea pig), and chicken in hominy (*mote*) [or sometimes hominy].³⁰ At the same time the girl's family supplies *chicha*, at least two jars, the big clay jars called *pondo* (F. A. C.).

At the *pedidos* it may be decided when the wedding is to take place, generally after the harvest. But between the *pedidos* (which the Maldonados refer to as a *contract*) and the wedding, days, weeks, months, or even years may elapse.³¹

Once a wedding is decided on, the family of the groom consults about selecting the (marriage) godparents, and the groom's parents visit the proposed godparents to obtain their acceptance (F. A. C.). When the godparents are White or live far away, secondary godparents are chosen (*huashca padrinos*) to carry communications between the parents, to escort the couple to the *jefatura*, to invite people to the wedding, and to attend upon them. They also have the obligation of contributing two *malías* of *chicha*.

The day set is generally Sunday, but it may be any day except Tuesday,³² because of the belief that a marriage on Tuesday would not go well, both man and woman would be martyrs (? victims).

²⁶ Reported by Segundo Félix Maldonado. See also p. 204.

²⁷ Reported by Segundo Félix Maldonado.

²⁸ Based on accounts written by José Antonio Maldonado, Segundo Félix Maldonado, with comparative notes by Francisco Andrango Cabezas. Some of Cabezas' notes appear to be derived from White sources.

²⁹ See p. 55, n. 96.

³⁰ A basket of bread, a basket of fruit, *cariucho* or *mediano* of twelve guinea pigs, two hens, eggs, meat, and potatoes, also a large jar (*malía*) or barrel of *chicha* and two liters of *trago* (F. A. C.).

³¹ The *pedidos* correspond obviously to the *palabriyai* of Peguche, although no *maestro* functions and the ritual of *rosarios* is not observed.

³² See pp. 168, 196.

"MANYAY"

On the eve of the marriage the parents of the bride invite the family of the groom. The family is received with good will and affection. All the company dances to the guitar or harp.³³ When night has advanced, the family of the groom are called for the *mazamorra (colada) con tortillas*. First, as it should be, they give it to the parents; to themselves they give plates of *colada con tortillas*, naming all that have composed the family down from the great-great-grandparents, that is to say, all they can remember through having been intimate with them. For this reason the women carry large jars and gourds (*ollas y pilches*) to receive the drink and food [and carry it home].

Happy and full of zest, they go on dancing until dawn,³⁴ until the time set for the wedding. Everyone comes forward to dance with a partner; everyone observes propriety. They do not get drunk, although they do not lack the gourd of *chicha* at any moment. In the kitchen they prepare a good general breakfast, which usually is salted food (*comida de sal*). They ask blessings from the parents, from all the family, from all the elder people, from persons met on the street, inviting all to give strong counsels.

After the wedding, with the harpist they go as far as the hill, some dancing all the way, not all, only those who want to be guided by the subconscious (*guiados por el subconciente* [i.e., let themselves go]). They go to the house of the groom, where people are received with bowls of *chicha*. Gaily they all sit down to the *boda*, the feast.

After the circle dance they sing the *mashalla, hachunja* (my son-in-law, my daughter-in-law) song; then, according to F. A. C., comes a dance called *mocha mocha*, "kiss, kiss," a circle dance with each person carrying a candle. A man has to kiss a woman, and a woman, a man. Ten couples take part. They cover the heads of the couple with a large white kerchief and in the same way the heads of the godparents in order to point out for the godchildren the good example of their godparents.

After all this comes the *puñuche* (F. A. C.), making the couple sleep in a distant room, alone and naked. To this room, where there is not the slightest sound of the night, the godparents accompany the couple. The godmother undresses the bride; the godfather, the groom. The couple remain naked in the same bed. There they leave them under lock and key.

The clothes that have been removed the godparents take to the bride's house for

³³ The eve of the wedding the couple go to confession. On their return to the bride's house at night the *manyay* [to eat something between meals (Middendorf), a lunch] is in order. The family of the bride entertains the family of the groom, who arrive with a harpist and with two attendants or spokesmen, one of them called Angel. They say: "*Ya voy llegando, mamita. Ya voy llegando, papacito. Recíbame mi cariño y reciba mi voluntad, mamita de mi corazón* [I am coming, little mother. I am coming, little father. Receive my affection (actually expression or gift of affection) and receive my good will, little mother of my heart]." Outside the door the Angel gives three lighted candles to somebody inside who extinguishes them. Then the groom's party enters dancing, to look for the bride, who is hiding. They ask: "Señora, have you perhaps seen Margarita (or) Azucena (Lily) or Amapola (Poppy)?" The *señora* answers: "A month ago she was in Otavalo" or "In a car she was about to go to Quito." Finally, they find one who is hiding away in the bride's clothes, pretending to be the bride. Full of happiness they dance with her until they uncover her and find she is not the bride. This mock bride they send to gather nettles, and they sting her feet with the nettles. Again they look for the true bride. They spend half a bottle of brandy (*trago*) on the godmother (*achimama*), and then she delivers the bride by the hands of the godfather. They uncover her to see that it is really she (F. A. C.).

³⁴ Until four in the morning (F. A. C.), the conventional Spanish phrase for daybreak.

the people to play with. A man and a woman pretend to be merchants and to sell the clothes. Besides, according to F. A. C., two persons act as burros; others, as children; others, as stepchildren (*entenados*). Games of this kind are to amuse the company, and at a good wedding they usually go on all night.

The following morning at half past five³⁵ the godparents carry hot water and bread to the couple, also their clothes,³⁶ and they take the couple to the bride's house. This day the feast will be very animated (*escandalosa*). The formidable drunkenness (*la formidable chuma*) will increase. (People will get awfully drunk.)

At nine o'clock the *novios* and all the others go to the irrigation ditch for the *chaqui maillay*, washing the feet, also the hands and face, with herbs of different kinds. The groom washes the bride, and the bride washes the groom. The godmother spreads out *ponchos* lent by the company, and on this carpet, so to speak, the *novios* dance to the harp. Then the godparents dance, then the company. In order to get back his *poncho*, the owner is obliged to dance. During the dance the where-with to calm weariness (*chicha*) is not lacking. There is also a basket of food (*cariucho*, called *mediano*).

Now before returning to the house they look for two strong men to act as burros and for two boys to ride. The "burros" act (*amanecen*) as if they were wild animals. The "riders" tame them and deliver them to the godparents to ride and see if they are tame and can be mounted by the groom and bride. Then the godfather says, "Yes, it is true that the horses are tame, so with the greatest confidence my god-children may ride them." Thus mounted, they are carried to the house of the parents of the bride. However, the mount of the groom may act like a wild horse and the groom has to hang on like a man, because the "horse" may get the better of him or even throw him over his head unless he is careful.

Later there is a "bullfight," one of the men offering to act as the bull. They go to the lot, and there they have the *corrida* just as if it were a real bull that the *aficionados torear* (the devotees play), causing a great hullabaloo.

Formerly, on the day after the marriage, the father-in-law gave the son-in-law a *penitencia*, such as breaking in a pair of *novillos* (young oxen) and plowing the side of a hill; and the mother of the groom, they say, ordered her daughter-in-law to wash potatoes for cooking, in cold water, pitted potatoes. This is to learn the couple's ability to work or to break them into work.

Two or three days are passed in constant drinking, and little by little the feasting concludes. Meanwhile, according to F. A. C., the couple go to the house of the godparents to receive presents: for the bride, that she may feed her husband, a pottery jar, two red (?) plates, two wooden spoons, and a tablecloth; for the groom, a plow and its fixings to work with. According to José Antonio Maldonado, when the parents have approved the marriage, the respective parents give the couple agricultural tools, clothes, plates and spoons, for a separate establishment.

E. SICKNESS AND CURING

Many think that sickness is caused by a malignant spirit or phantom (*espíritu maligno, fantasma*). When you explain about microbes, people do not understand. They ask, "How can any living creature be so small?" Because they do not understand this, many are not so clean about their person or dress or food as they might be.³⁷

³⁵ At four in the morning (F. A. C.).

³⁶ Accompanied by the harpist and a crowd (F. A. C.).

³⁷ José Antonio Maldonado.

BAD WIND ("MAL VIENTO")³⁸

Indications of *mal viento* are lips swelling without having suffered a blow or anything; pain in arm, shoulder, or cheek; swelling or pain in either or both legs; bloodshot eyes; pain in chest or in the stomach, which is very similar to *espanto*; and pain or swelling in the genital organs. The cure is performed with an egg, with a guinea pig, or with a ripe black nettle, also with a belt that has received warmth from the body or with a pair of trousers in use.

With an egg rub the affected part until the yolk and the white become completely liquid; simultaneously, say in a soft voice: "Crendios, crendios" (*Creo en Dios*). If curer yawns continuously, they know it is a case of *mal viento*. If it is not much, the curer does not yawn much; if it is a hard case, he yawns with greater force. He uses tobacco and keeps on smoking as he rubs on the egg.

The same thing is done with the guinea pig and also with the nettle, which they pass through the flame of the fire. When the case is hard, the patient does not feel the sting of the nettle; but, if the case is light, the patient feels the sting.

The same is done with belt or trousers, which must always be somewhat warm, not from fire, but from body warmth.

If the illness is strong, the treatment is repeated, on any day (not necessarily on Tuesday or Friday).

The *curandero* must be *formal*, vigorous, and *bravo* [hectoring, bullying]; he should not be timid. At the moment of curing, the display of fierceness (*bravura*) must be very marked.

To prevent *mal viento*, roll for about five minutes in the place from which a bull or a mule (male or female) has got up, roll in the warmth of this place. This preventative is a sure thing, I have proved it. I used to suffer from *mal viento* continuously, but ever since I tried this, now for six years, I have not suffered.

FRIGHT ("ESPANTO")

When persons, especially children, lose appetite, lose animation, take no pleasure in play or work, have constant nausea and an unquenchable thirst and continue drying up (*secandose*) from day to day, you know they are ill from fright (*espanto*). To cure, you grasp the patient by the feet and body, turning him upside down and shaking him hard up and down, at the same time saying: "*Shungo, shungo, shungo, shungo jatari, jatari, jatari, en que espante, guagrahuan, alauan, gentehuan, atal-pahuan? Shungo, shungo, shungo, shungo, jatari, jatari, jatari!*" [Heart, heart, heart, heart rise up, rise up, rise up! How did you become frightened, by cattle, by dog, by people, by a chicken? Heart, heart, heart, heart rise up (*levanta*), rise up, rise up!]" If the fright has been slight, the person is cured; if the fright has been strong, the cure must be repeated on the following proper day. The treatment must always be done in the morning, on Tuesday or Friday. If it is not done on these days, no cure will result.

Cats and dogs can also suffer *espanto*.

The patient may also be asked where he was frightened—at the river, at a conduit, or was it by a cry? Say at a conduit. Then the curer will make a rag doll and take it to the conduit. Calling in the name of the child, *Vamos! vamos!* he acts as if he were beating with the doll; he acts as if he were making the soul advance, and, beating, he takes the doll to the ailing child, saying that he comes bringing the

³⁸ Reported by Segundo Félix Maldonado.

soul (*alma*), and he delivers the soul. He leaves the doll tied to the child for several days.³⁹ The child begins to get better and later feels hungry. (J. A. M.)

RAINBOW MALADIES⁴⁰

For *el cuichic*, the rainbow, or *cogido cuichic*, Rainbow attacked or possessed, there are cures. In *cuichic colorado*, red *cuichic*, there are tumors and abscesses, over the body, some breaking out, some healing, all the time. First, one asks the owners of the house of the sick man for a very white guinea pig which has not a single hair of another color. Then one asks for strings of wool of all the colors (red, rose, yellow, burgundy, blue, black, that is to say, all the colors of the rainbow [*cuichic*]). Then one ties the strings on the guinea pig (*hace cargar al cuy*). All this to be in readiness.

One spreads out on the ground a *bayeta* (woolen cloth, blanket) a meter wide on each side, that is to say, a square blanket. In each corner of the cloth one places an egg, *tabaco* (*maquirrandi*, yellow paper cigarette), or any kind of cigarette, and a handful of herbs, a handful of herbs in each corner. The herbs that serve as a *remedio* to cure the *mal de cuichic* or *hierba buena* (*menta viridis*), *cuichic angó* (*vena de arcoiris*) or *hierba vena de cuichic* [*Boehmeria caldasii*], *zorro jihua* (*hierba de zorro* [*Bagetes* sp.]). Note that these herbs are of a disagreeable odor. In the center of the cloth one places *ishpingo* (*Pyrethrum parthenium*), *tigrecillo* (herb of repugnant odor [*Piperonia* sp.]), *congona* (*Piperonia congona*), *juyanquilla* (? month), and a liter of urine, not of the sick person, but of another, a child up to twelve years old, completely healthy.

Now the *curador* comes close to the sick woman, and she must be covered only with a blanket, no clothing, completely nude. He makes her sit up, and with the urine he spatters her whole body and also the guinea pig which is decorated with colored threads, until the liter of urine is finished. Now he takes the *tigrecillo*, *congona*, *ishpingo*, that are placed in the middle of the cloth, chews them all, and with rum blows them over the body of the sick one and of the guinea pig. The *curandero* serves himself some glasses in order to cure with spirit (*animo*) and valor (*coraje*). Once the whole body is blown over, he begins to clean with the guinea pig from the head to the toes, three times during a quarter of an hour. Once finished cleaning with the guinea pig, he skins it. As proof that it is *cuichic*, one sees the whole body of the guinea pig covered or crossed with little white threads; that is the sign that it is *cuichic*.

Now the *curandero* takes from two corners of the cloth two eggs. With the two eggs he cleans from the head to the feet three times, and while he cleans he smokes. After cleaning with all the eggs and smoking all the cigarettes, he takes from each corner a handful of herbs: *mancharijihua* (*hierba de espanto*), *hierba buena*, *zorro jihua*, *cuichic angó*. As these herbs are tied, into each bunch he blows rum and continues cleaning, from the head to the feet three times; and, as there are four little bunches of herbs, he cleans four times, blowing rum, and serving himself rum in order to cure with anger (*cólera*). All the things he has cleaned with he places in a rag to be thrown away in the river or to be buried behind a rock by one not of the family of the sick person.

After this cleansing he makes the sick one lie down. The cure is repeated in the same way, skipping a day, until the sick one has completely recovered.

³⁹ This appears to be ritual of using an image to retrieve the lost soul similar to that used by the Cuna Indians of Panama (Stout). Small clay images have been found in burials in Cayambe. It appears as if *espanto* in Spanish America were a Hispanicized form of "lost soul."

⁴⁰ Written by José Antonio Maldonado as dictated to him by the *curador*.

In *cuichic blanco*, white *cuichic*, the face, hands, and feet are blistered. This is easily cured. Rub the whole body with an infusion of squash (*zambo*) leaves in fermented urine, the infusion very hot, almost boiling.

MORE ABOUT RAINBOW MALADIES⁴¹

The *cuichic* has taken one (*ha cogido el cuichic*), it is believed, when one feels itchy and welts come out on the body. You collect or buy the following herbs: the beards of rocks (moss), *frailejón*,⁴² rosemary, laurel blessed with holy water, *ají*, *huanitos* (red-yellow datura), *saumerio*,⁴³ mint (*hierba buena*). These are kindled in a large dish, to give out a strong, very pungent smoke. The patient stands in the midst of the smoke, covering his face well with a cloth so that he sees nothing, *otherwise the cuichic will not leave the body*. This is the strongest belief of all.

When a person meets with the *cuichic* in the shape of a rainbow and it draws close to him, he can defend himself by throwing urine⁴⁴ into the air, sprinkling it in the direction of the *cuichic*, or by throwing rocks and making crosses in the air.⁴⁵

The *cuichic* may present itself in whirlpools and in large, abandoned dark caves⁴⁶ in the form of swine, sometimes small and sometimes large, crying just like a newborn baby pig and appearing in different colors—red, yellow, purple, blue, and brownish.⁴⁷

If a woman feels ill, as if she had a real baby in her belly, they say it is the *cuichic*. The *curandero ichizo* (*hechizo*) has the woman collect white *chicha*, prepared from a handful of *jora* (sprouted corn), white corn, black corn, holy water, *llama de vena de cuichic*, wild carrot, wild *malloa* (? Jerusalem artichoke), *rodo*, garlic, rose leaves, mill dust, also chicken droppings, pig dung, and two big guinea pigs tied with ribbons of all colors. All but the last are ground fine and mixed with urine and holy water. With this mixture the body of the woman is rubbed all over. What is left of the mixture they put in a bag made of a rag and throw it all away in some distant and desolate place. With the decorated guinea pigs they clean or rub well the body of the woman, then go and throw away the animals. They keep the woman from going into the street for three or four days and from eating pork or pork lard or from seeing swine, lest the *cuichic* return to her body.

"MAL BLANCO," WHITE SICKNESS (BEWITCHMENT)⁴⁸

The treatment is almost the same as for curing the *cuichic*. One spreads out in the same way a square *bayeta* and in each corner places an egg, a cigarette, and bread. In the center one places sweet bread, rose flowers, oranges, a liter of rum, and a jar that has four feet, with leaves of *huanto* (datura) inside this jar. One makes the sick

⁴¹ Written by Francisco Andrango Cabezas.

⁴² A wooly plant found on the *páramo*, especially near the Colombian border, that is supposed to look like a hooded friar, but really, in large masses, looks more like enormous flocks of sheep. It is said to be rich in cellulose.

⁴³ A fragrant herb, burned in church censers during Mass.

⁴⁴ For urine as medicine see pp. 128, 198.

⁴⁵ "When there is a rainbow, they say that around those places there are sick people" (Segundo Félix Maldonado).

⁴⁶ See pp. 92-93.

⁴⁷ See p. 146, n. 99.

⁴⁸ Reported by José Antonio Maldonado.

person be seated naked, and one goes on drinking rum to have greater valor. From the heads (?) the *curador* learns where the malady is, and here he sucks out toads, white worms, round and black worms, or lizards, all alive. As he takes out these animals, he shows them to the sick one and deposits them in the jar, all the animals that he takes from the body of the sick one, bewitched by another person. He may take out animals everywhere from the body, even from the toes. Now he cleans with eggs, from head to feet, blowing rum on the body of the sick one, on the eggs, and on the guinea pig. After cleaning with the eggs, he deposits them in the jar. Now he cleans with bread and with the orange. Breads and oranges he deposits in the jar. Then at last he cleans with the guinea pig, blowing rum on the guinea pig and on the sick one, all over the body. Then the guinea pig is skinned to see if it is *mal blanco*. In the part of the esophagus they see an immense number of little white balls; they say it looks like cooked quinoa. This is proof that the sick person has *mal blanco*. Only one who knows how to clean by guinea pig can say this [diagnose].

Now the witch (*brujo*) who understands *looks at the lighted candle* and, blowing rum, says: "It lacks so many years or months [for the bewitcher] to die," and tells about the person who has done the evil and why. He speaks with certainty because, he says, he can make clear [? set] the date and the hour when the bewitcher is going to die. Also the witch looks in the urine (*meado*) and likewise makes clear with certainty [? sets] the day when the bewitcher is going to die.⁴⁹ The witch does not want to tell how he knows [? does] this, because he says it is a secret and only he may know it. He says he won't tell even if they cut off his neck. These are secrets that cannot be discovered.

All the things that the curer has already cleansed with and placed in the jar he sends to bury below a rock or in the trunk of a tree in order that the person may not die and that the tree may dry up.

In this way the curing is continued until the person is better or dies.

There are few *hechiceros* [same obviously as *curandero* or *curador*]. Manuel Tubaquingo is one. No women. *For this they go to the province of Imbabura.*

F. BURIAL PRACTICES AT SAN RAFAEL, PARISH OF GONZÁLEZ SUÁREZ, IMBABURA PROVINCE; AT JUAN MONTALVO, PICHINCHA PROVINCE⁵⁰
AND AT AMAGUÑA IN THE VALLEY OF CHILLOS

As I was walking from Otavalo to Cayambe, just before reaching San Rafael, I heard crying in an Indian yard. My curiosity was so great I came near to see why they were crying so much. Imagine my surprise to see the body of the father of the family lying in the middle of the *patio* (yard), on a ladder (*chocana*) on a table. The face was uncovered and the eyes open. Two red flags were at the sides. Around the body was everything that he had liked during life, as well as two sprigs of rosemary, which is a weapon in the other life; with these two sprigs he may defend himself from any danger on the road. There was everything he liked to eat, flat bowls (*azafates*) with *chicha*, gourds, a bottle of rum, a little jug of *chicha* to drink on the road when he got thirsty, a gourd cup, and two candles and a match in his hand that he might have light on the road. Two pairs of sandals, *ushutas*,⁵¹ for him to wear walking, because the road by which one goes to Heaven is believed to be full of thorns and stones. There were also several work implements.

Another surprise. While the body was in the middle of the *patio*, two Indians

⁴⁹ This, of course, is black magic. Hence secretiveness.

⁵⁰ Reported by José Antonio Maldonado.

⁵¹ Sole of rubber tire, leather top.

passed four children over the body three times from one side to the other, one at a time;⁵² this so that the children (sons, *hijos*) might not miss their father and might forget (which they call, "No ha de apasionar por taita"). Besides, they cut the hair of the deceased, burn it, and pulverize it and get eggs and put the powder in the eggs and suck them "á que no se apasionen por el padre." They also put some of the powder in the food or *chicha* (they are to eat or drink).

All this happens while the body remains in the middle of the *patio*, as was explained to me by one who could speak Spanish and was acquainted with my father. Now they started to carry off the body on the ladder. It was carried by four elderly men. They carried him off just as he was in the *patio* with everything they had placed around the body. They took the body to bathe it in an *acequia* (irrigation ditch) with quite a lot of water.⁵³ On the road some Indians played *pingullo* (flutes) and drum; another Indian played a violin, in order that the soul might go happy with music.

They bathe the dead man in order that the soul may have cleanliness, that body and soul may be clean and pure, and thus go to Heaven, leaving all impurities behind. The face is uncovered and the eyes open in order that the deceased may know the road by which he must go. The red flag means Purgatory, because every soul must go to Purgatory before going to Heaven.

When they arrive at the ditch, they prop the body with much gentleness, seated on a table, and then light two candles and start to pray, in Quechua. Then they undress the body and bathe it. While they bathe it, an old man leads all those present in prayer.

After bathing the body, they return with it just as they had carried it and place it on a table. Then the neighbors take the family things to eat—*sostado* (toasted corn), *mote* (hominy), beans, cooked cabbage leaves, *chochos*, and *chicha*. In a level place they spread *rebosos*, ponchos, *bayetas*, and on them place everything they have brought to eat in the name of the deceased. Before eating, an old man takes charge of making all pray in the name of the deceased. Because this is the last time all the family and the deceased are united at a meal, they say, "As he is saying goodbye, let us all eat together."⁵⁴

My father says that the burial customs of Cayambe used to be like those of the Indians of Otavalo; but they have been dropping various customs—I don't know how, my father says—and replacing them with other customs. The present customs I have seen are the following: When a person dies, they immediately prepare a table and on it they place the body, covering it with a white sheet, with a crucifix on the body. It is customary for attendants to pass the night playing various games appropriate for wakes,⁵⁵ such as the game of *fichilingo* (hat), rabbit game (*juego al conejo*), onion game (*a la cebolla*), melodian vendor game (*al vendedor de melodío*), marriage game (*al casamiento*), and the game of selling images (*al vendedor de San-*

⁵² Formerly customary at Juan Montalvo and once done in Maldonado's own family, reports a brother.

⁵³ Cf. the bath in a streamlet given the deceased by the Indians near Riobamba (Karsten 4:481).

⁵⁴ Among the Indians near Riobamba the feast after the burial is called *mondongo*, "the last." The alcalde prays during the dice game. Drinking continues for eight days (Karsten 4:483-84).

⁵⁵ Cf. games played at wakes by Canelos and Napo Indians as well as by highlanders (Karsten 4:467 ff., 480 ff.). See, too, Homans, pp. 392-93, for the English lychwake and the Bishop of Lincoln's admonishment against making the house of death "a house of laughter and play."

tos), *al curiquingue*. They impose forfeits on losers. They play these games just to amuse themselves[!].

The games are played the second night of the wake. At about eight or nine o'clock men and women, young and old, form the play group, playing for about three hours.

In "El Fichilingo" (Otavalo Canton, *pichilingo*) the players sit in a circle, then get partners, in pairs. They get a little old soft hat, turn it inside out, put it on, and the game begins. The one who is wearing the *fichilingo* says to his companion: "*Compañerito mío*, is it just to be burdened with this *fichilingo*?" Companion: "Why should you be burdened with it?" Wearer: "Who is going to wear it?" The companion names someone else in the game (it is always the companion who talks). If by mistake the person named speaks, they put the hat on the head of the person named. Or the companion may say: "You yourself," or "Why is my *compañerito* going to wear it?" "Who is going to wear it?" or "Let A wear it!" The companion of A immediately says: "Why should my companion wear it?" Wearer says: "Then who is going to wear it?" "Let B wear it!" Immediately B's companion answers; B doesn't answer. B does not put on the hat.⁵⁶

All the wearers must give a forfeit to be redeemed. One has to do a hunter and the second the bird called *licuango*; another has to cry, in every corner of the room, and another sings; others are sentenced to kiss all the good-looking single girls in front of everybody; others are sent with a light to look for a pregnant fly and a male fly; others are assigned to bring nettles in their mouth; another has to sit on a bottle and light a candle with a wet wick; another has to go out of the house to yell at the neighbors who have not come to the wake. (Calling by name all those who have not come, he says, "Those of you who have not come, do not think that you are not going to die.") Another has to ring the bell twelve times, and another has to bring from the kitchen a plate of hominy and a jar of *chicha*, and all those who have contributed to the game serve themselves.

The forfeit of Hunter and Licuango (this bird lives in the ravines and whistles three times, somewhat sadly)⁵⁷



is for



men. The Hunter gets a tube, the kind they light a fire with, and some ashes. Hunter and Licuango bandage their eyes. Licuango whistles just like the bird; then

⁵⁶ This game was played by children in Dublin, New Hampshire, about thirty years ago and called "Parson Lost His Hat." The jingle goes:

"Parson lost his hat,
Some say this,
And some say that,
But I say . . ."

Speaker names Parson or Man Jack or a color and points to anybody, beginning to count out (Olivia Holt).

⁵⁷ Corrected by Marco Hidrobo, a White townsman of Cotacachi.

Hunter, with ashes in his tube, pursues Licuango, who keeps on whistling. Sometimes they bump into each other, and then and there Hunter shoots Licuango from his tube [cf. blowgun]. The forfeit of crying and singing in every corner is for a woman, who must fulfil it seriously. For the forfeit of lighting a candle, one sits on a bottle upside down, each foot on the point of the other foot; then in the left hand one holds the light, and in the right hand a candle. One must light the candle without falling. This is hard to do and may take a quarter of an hour. For the forfeit of the Twelve Hours: They hang on you keys before and behind, from the belt. You open your legs and move so the keys act like a pendulum. It is difficult to make the keys touch to give the hours. However, in course of time the twelve bell strokes are achieved.

In the game of burnt cotton, the players sit around a sheet which they hold along the edges so that it is taut. Onto the sheet they throw little pieces of lighted cotton, and all try to blow, making sure that the cotton jumps in the middle of the sheet.⁵⁸ If it is allowed to escape past a player, he pays a forfeit.

There are other games, but I am not up on them, because really Inca they are not; they are Spanish games. One is called the "Melodion Vendor." This game is charming, and I really like it. But it is not Inca; it is Spanish. First, a person takes charge of trying out the piano. He looks for twelve or more to act as the keyboard. They sit around, the pianist in the center. Now, the pianist begins to play with his hands on their heads. Each one who is played on must utter a sound. One will whistle softly, and others will cry out somewhat roughly. To one with a harsh voice they give *chicha* (as if it were oil to soften the voice). The harsh-voiced will be given *chicha* three or four times, until his voice softens. When they are all in equal voice, the pianist begins to play on the heads of all. They sing the special tune they all know.

Another game is "Marriage," in which parts are taken by *el Señor Cura*, by the sacristan, the *jefe político*, the *padrinos*, the parents of both groom and bride, and by another suitor. All this they perform with gaiety, with enjoyment, because they play instruments, because they are in a marriage. This, too, is a charming game.

Most of the games are brought from other lands. Because they have no appropriate times to play games, the Indians choose to play them at a wake, where it is not suitable to play any of these games.

They say they have known other games, but they go dropping these customs and taking up others.

The day of the burial they sweep the *panteón* (not cemetery, but room of death) with *huanto* [red-orange datura], so that all illnesses may go out, and the rubbish they throw into the middle of the street so that all the *chiqui* may go out, which means everything bad that may be in the house. For the burial all the attendants bring food to the house in the name of the corpse.

It is believed that *Dios* appoints the time of death but that some persons die before the time appointed. If, in digging a grave, a fresh coffin is found, they say that the deceased was not yet appointed to die. If the coffin has rotted, it shows that the deceased died because his very hour had come. Again, when no earth is left over after filling in the grave, he died, people say, because his hour had arrived. When a lot of earth is left over, it means he died before his time. When the body does not stiffen after death, people say, "His time to die had not come yet."⁵⁹

"A person who throws himself into the grave. If the person who has died has

⁵⁸ Played by Canelos and Napo Indians, on a board placed on abdomen of corpse, by Canelos; on a cloth, as at Cayambe, by the Napo (Karsten 4:473-75).

⁵⁹ This paragraph and the following are from Segundo Félix Maldonado.

been highly appreciated by all the village, the family, principally the wife, the person who most esteems him, goes off her mind (*se trastorna*) when they have already the body in the grave, and will try to throw herself into the grave. Then, they say, the soul of the dead gathers up (*acoge*) the spirit of the one who has thrown herself in and after a little while she dies. For this reason in the case of those who cry or suffer a lot, the people at the funeral are careful not to let them throw themselves into the grave."

The day after the burial, comes the *tagshai*, "washing the clothes." At this *tagshai* the whole family and near-by neighbors attend in order that all may be clean and that everything in the house may remain clean. The clothes are taken to the ditch, where one of the chief amusements is to trip people into the water (inferably, people formerly took a bath). *Chicha* and *copa* (cups, i.e., rum) are served. It is quite a festive occasion.

If they do not wash the clothes, they say the soul suffers. The soul is said to say, "Send me all my clothes clean, and if you do not I shall always molest you," which consists in accidents or what they also call *el mal viento*, "the evil wind."

A case like this happened to a woman neighbor of ours, Margarita Navas. This woman died, and they did not do the *tagshai*, wash the dirty clothes of the dead woman.⁶⁰ So the spirit harassed the house so much that the dogs barked all night, seeing the spirit.⁶¹ And she made one of the daughters dream that if they did not wash the clothes she would not leave the house and would always be with them. They had to wash the clothes. The spirit did not appear to them again.

When a child dies, only the family cries because it is only a child; they even dance. It is joyful because all the attendants dance. For the dead child they prepare an altar because, they say, the spirit of the child is an angel that has not sinned and so goes directly to Heaven. The angel begs of God of the kingdom of the heavens (*Dios de los reinos de los cielos*) that the family live in complete harmony, that all live happily, and for this reason all try to dance, with harp and violin. Up to the moment of burial the *compadre*, that is, the *padrino*, keeps on dancing. The child's face is uncovered with a crown on the head, and the clothing is that of an angel because the angels in Heaven are dressed according to how they have been sent from earth, some better than others as to clothes.

A mother who has lost her child may not spin for ten years because, they say, when they spin, the *sigsí* (pampas grass) pricks the eyes of the Virgin Mary, and the Virgin beats the angel, saying, "Your mother is pricking me in the eye." But this is a Spanish belief.

At Amaguaña, in the valley of Chillos, the funeral party returns after the burial to the house of the deceased, sweeps the floor as clean as possible and sifts ashes over it, shuts the house up tight, and then goes to bathe in the irrigation ditch, all clothes on. They return and open up the house. *El que sabe*, "the person who knows," examines the floor and finds the footprints of *el alma del muerto que ha vuelto*, "the soul of the dead that has returned." The ashes are swept out, a feast, prepared of all the things the deceased like to eat and drink, is consumed by the party, and afterward there is dancing.⁶²

⁶⁰ According to other informants, the clothes of the survivors are washed, not the clothes of the deceased. Probably all the clothes are washed, and the idea of *sending* the clothes to the deceased is a bit of secondary personal interpretation by José Antonio.

⁶¹ See below, p. 214.

⁶² The Aymará of Titicaca strew ashes on the floor inside the doorsill and lock the house from the outside. After the burial the "old men" examine the floor for footprints. Prints of

G. SPIRITS⁶³

Huacaisiques or *guagua cuco* are babies that have been abandoned on the road or in a pasture, unbaptized, and, as they have not been baptized,⁶⁴ the spirit of the baby becomes a malevolent *cuco*. This *cuco* child harasses sucklings or infants until they are seven or eight months old (Andrango). For this reason mothers believe (and I must confess that my mother also holds this belief) that they should wash their baby's swaddling clothes before nightfall. Otherwise, after five o'clock in the afternoon the *huacaisique* may see the child. If the *huacaisique* sees the child, the child will become a crybaby, crying all the time. Then they say "Huacaisique visto" (*huacaisique*, "seen"). To cure the child, the parents take some herbs or plants to the priest to be baptized (blessed with holy water). With these plants they make a smudge, and two persons at the baby's head and others at his feet hold him for a few moments over the smoke. That is the moment when the *huacaisique* separates himself. The child stops his crying. He may cry at times, but not as he cried before he was cured.

My parents have told me that, after the wheat harvest, an *escribiente*⁶⁵ was going down to the hacienda, at six-thirty in the afternoon, the hour when *huacaisiques* abound. As the man was coming down mounted on a horse, close to a ravine he heard a tiny baby crying. He drew near and saw a tiny baby abandoned with all his swaddling clothes. The man talked coarsely, saying, "These women abandon the baby as soon as it is born; they do it only to appear clean." Very pleased, Señor Escribiente dismounted, took the baby, placed it within his poncho, and remounted. He had gone barely four *cuadras* [a mile] when, they say, the baby spoke to him, "Look at my teeth, what pretty teeth I have." Very much surprised to hear so young a baby speak, the man looked at the baby, he said, to see why he should talk this way. Within the poncho he saw an ugly swinish face⁶⁶ with the teeth of a tiger, absolutely a phantom. Quickly he threw him to the ground and spurred his horse, but the *huacaisique* followed him, clinging to the tail of the horse for about a thousand meters. As he was shaken loose, he said to the man, they say, that he should be thankful he was not mounted on his mule⁶⁷ because then he would have taken him, body and soul, to hell. My mother has heard the *huacaisique* cry and says that it cries just like a newborn baby.

men or women indicate further deaths in the family. Rooster tracks are of the devil (Bandelier, p. 85). In seventeenth-century Peru in certain parts they scattered maize or quinoa flour through the house to see from footprints, as they said, if the deceased would return (Bandelier, p. 148, n. 79, citing Arriaga).

⁶³ Reported by José Antonio Maldonado.

⁶⁴ A living infant unbaptized is called *auka*.

⁶⁵ Hacienda amanuensis, secretary. Every large hacienda has one.

⁶⁶ This change of an infant spirit into a pig should interest Karsten, who points out as widespread in South America the belief that disembodied spirits take temporary possession of other beings. Cf. p. 198, where it is implied that Rainbow is transformed into little pigs.

⁶⁷ Mules seem to be closer to the spirit world than horses, excepting *white* horses. When a spirit (*duende*) is mounted, it is always on a mule or white horse. (Also the *duende* holds his head up or thrown back.)

FIRE MOTHER AND SPIRIT ANIMALS AT JUAN MONTALVO, CAYAMBE CANTON⁶⁸

When the fire is going or one is cooking and the fire of itself acts as if one were blowing into it through a tube, they say it is *tulpa mama*,⁶⁹ "fire mother,"⁷⁰ the owner of the hearth (*dueño del fogón*).

One time a whole family left their room to see a spectacle going on in the neighborhood. One of the daughters returned to go on preparing the meal. As she entered the kitchen, she was surprised to see a cadaverous (*esquelético*) cat blowing furiously on the fire, *sacando chispas*, making the sparks fly. The young woman remained still without moving, then went out of the kitchen door. When she returned, she saw nothing.

She ran, laughing and crying alternately, to where the others were, and before the eyes of the family she ran twice around the house. Full of fear (*lleno de susto*), the family grabbed her. With maximum force she threw down all who caught at her, and they say she ran toward the *quebrada*. Without feeling anything, she jumped onto the agave hedge and entered a shepherd's hut, trembling and with a frightened face.⁷¹ Almost the whole family had followed, and between two of them they took her from the hut into the house. The next day they took her to the church in Cayambe, to make confession.⁷² Then the *tulpa mama* did not persecute them.

My mother's sister as a child used to pasture sheep on the banks of the river Guachalá. (She had very long and thick hair, *cabelluda*.)⁷³ One day she went with her sheep in the company of some other herders to the pasture very close to El Volcán (an almost perpendicular bank, site of the intake of the irrigation ditch of the *finca* "Maresca de los Andes"). About noon she became separated for a moment

⁶⁸ Reported by Segundo Félix Maldonado.

⁶⁹ At Peguche the cook may be so called. A fire spirit is unfamiliar. See p. 126 for omen from sparking.

⁷⁰ Among Jibaro the Fire spirit is female (Karsten 4:383), and in Inca Peru there was also a Fire Mother (Métraux, XXVII, 333, n. 3, citing Molina).

⁷¹ Possession is suggested. In the account of the first revivalistic cult among Indians, which was widespread in the Peruvian population, as reported in 1560 by the priest Luis de Olivera, possession was conspicuous. Men trembled and fell to the ground, tearing themselves, their faces distorted. Quieting down, they said such and such a spirit had entered their body (Molina, p. 61).

⁷² In Inca Peru divining specialists called Yacarcae blew on the fire through copper-silver tubes. The "devils" delivered their replies through the blazing-up of the fire. The diviners asked about the soul of anybody at a distance, in Quito or anywhere, about what crimes they might be engaged in—thrift, murder, or adultery, *lese-majesté* or irreligion. In this way "with the help of the devil" the Inca "knew all that passed in his dominions," i.e., the Yacarcae were his Intelligence Service. They "were much feared, as well by the Ynca as by the people, and he took them with him wherever he went." It was generally to these Yacarcae that confessions were made (Molina, pp. 14, 15). Here, as in our Cayambe story, which seems reminiscent of early practice or attitude, the interpretation of confessions as remedy for disaster caused by a spirit is suggested.

At the Maya initiation of the children which Landa calls "baptism" the older children were asked if "they had done any bad thing, or obscene conduct, and if any had done so, they confessed them and separated them from the others" (Landa, p. 44). The whole ceremony gave "protection against being harmed by the devils."

⁷³ Rosita of Peguche reports that "the devils come and fall in love with a *cabelluda*; they become entangled in the hair; they hang lizards in it or lizards hang from it (*le cuelgan lagartijas*); the devil is tempted by hair (*el diablo se tienta del pelo*). Cf. Jibaro beliefs about hair, p. 28, n. 81.

from her companions. Then she saw one of her best ewes separated from the herd, in the chaparral. She wanted to take the ewe back to the fold. Just as she went into the chaparral, a mass of lizards crossed in front of her. She stepped forward; the lizards multiplied and crossed more rapidly.⁷⁴ As she was looking at the ewe, it changed into ugly and strange animals, into a crow, a black cat, then back into a ewe.⁷⁵ She screamed and her companions ran to her, but they saw only the little girl crying and pointing to the ewe.

MORE SPIRIT ANIMALS AND A HEADLESS RIDER⁷⁶

A few weeks ago Sebastián Hernández⁷⁷ of Juan Montalvo, a *concierto* or contract peon on the hacienda of Ishigto, stayed during the time of potato-digging [September] to care for the potatoes at night on one of the roads of the hacienda. When Sebastián was in a profound sleep, some swine appeared to him, tearing to bits the potato sacks. He woke up quickly and met with some black pigs, seven or eight, and called "Cuche, cuche!" The animals withdrew. Sebastián lay down again, and the animals returned to continue bothering as before and eating—*chaco, chaco* [the sound the pig makes crunching his food]. Sebastián knew that these pigs belonged to a *comadre*. He said to himself, "I will kill them if they keep on bothering, even if they do belong to my *comadre* Josefina."⁷⁸ Tired of these animals eating the potatoes, Sebastián got up again and chased them away. They came back, and he chased them again. The fifth time he made all the animals move on and was going to drive them into one of the pastures (*potreros*) when at the *zanja* (wall of sod topped by maguey) they disappeared from sight. He said to himself, "What's going on with these animals that they disappear?" Then he went back to lie down where he had been before, with the fear that he felt within him.

When he had lain down and covered himself with the blankets, he heard someone coming on horseback. He saw from the poncho and general look that it was Victor Vaca, the *mayordomo*. He was riding strangely in the ditch, not on the road. As he came closer, Sebastián saw that he had no head. Sebastián thought to himself, "The *mayordomo*, too, just a joke; he is making the rounds just as if I were stealing the potatoes." The rider passed a little way from him, and the bridle curb sounded as if it were not that of a real person. When the rider passed on, Sebastián went to stand for a long while in an irrigation ditch. A companion of Sebastián called Rafael Navas came up on horseback and said very frightened, "*Caramba*, what's the matter with me that I'm so scared?"

"*Carajo*, why are you afraid, riding on a good horse and knowing how the animal is?" Sebastián asked him.

⁷⁴ In Quechua-speaking, highland Ecuador women believe they may be made pregnant by lizards. So, when they see a lizard, they jump away from it (Karsten 4:220).

⁷⁵ Belief in spirit animals and in transformation is very marked in eastern Ecuador (Karsten 4: *passim*), as also in peasant Europe—the *lutins* of Picardy, for example, become crows, wolves, or domestic animals (Carnoy, pp. 38 ff., 105 ff.).

⁷⁶ From accounts written by Francisco Andrago Cabezas of Juan Montalvo. Originally the account was given verbally in answer to Señor Gorrell's inquiry about the forms taken by *duendes*, "spirits." "*Duendes* take the form of pigs and even of people you know," answered Cabezas and told the story.

⁷⁷ He is about twenty-four, a bachelor, a *zambo*, his mother being Negro-Indian, his father, Indian. It is the only family of Negro descent in the parish. The sons have a high temper; they have gaiety and humor. The daughters are attractive and "careless." The family has a bad reputation for theft (J. L. G.).

⁷⁸ A suggestion here of witchcraft. See below, p. 216.

"Well, I am scared a lot, so I am not going to make the rounds of the potato fields," answered Navas.

"Where is the *mayordomo*?"

"He is at this moment in a deep sleep."

Sebastián, not to make his companion more frightened, remained silent without telling what had happened.

The next day, in the morning, they looked over the potato sacks and found them as they had left them.

A COW AND SOME SOULS⁷⁹

On a dark and foggy night while her family was sound asleep, Isabel Hernandez (mother of Sebastián Hernandez) heard their cow rubbing against the house wall, pulling down the wall vines. "*Caramba*, what a thieving cow! She has got loose." So the woman, carrying the baby, went out to see if it was really the cow. She found the cow tied up as she had left her.

Coming back, she heard the noise of big boys running and playing. "What boys are about at this hour, or is it close to dawn?" Looking back, she saw a man in flames with boys around him. She turned cold and begged for mercy. She went into the house without consciousness or hope of life to awaken the children to keep her company.

The next day they looked at the place she heard the cow rubbing, and there was no trace of anything. The Hernandezes were nearly dead. They found someone who could wipe out, clean the accident. The *limpiador*, the "cleaner," said it was not the devil; it was souls going together in a band. The cleaner said the Hernandezes should be well cleaned with a big guinea pig. They should make a smudge with the things that had been blessed and sprinkle holy water all around the house. Then all the malignant spirits would withdraw, said the cleaner [exorciser].

H. CHAPEL AND HACIENDA INDIAN OFFICIALS AMAGUAÑA, PICHINCHA PROVINCE

At the New Year's the parish priest names, besides the *priostes*, two *alcaldes* (*alcalde mayor* and *alcalde menor*) and one *alguacil* from the *peones de hacienda* of the hacienda of San Rafael. They are to serve for one year. Each of the three is given a cane of office, that of the *alcalde mayor* being the most elaborate. It is of *chonta* wood, hard and black, with a silver top and bands of silver. On the top the name of the maker and the date, about 1920, are engraved, and pendent are a silver dove of the Espíritu Santo, a crucifix, and silver flaming hearts set with colored stones. The *alcalde* takes office by kissing the crucifix on the cane.⁸⁰

The duties of the *alcaldes* are to see to it that the people attend *la doctrina* and Mass, to inform the priest of faults and lapses, to see that people do not fight⁸¹ and injure others when drunk, to take the priest to the sick or dying, and to bury anyone who has no family to bury him, getting the money from the *patrones* or other moneyed persons. *Alcaldes* and the *alguacil* walk in the van of dance processions⁸²

⁷⁹ From account written by Francisco Andrango Cabezas.

⁸⁰ We recall that the Zuni Pueblo governor is called "he who breathes from the cane."

⁸¹ Formerly at *fiestas* there was considerable inter-hacienda fighting (see p. 210, n. 92).

⁸² As do the war chiefs or captains of the Pueblos, officials who were assimilated with Spanish *alcaldes*. All Pueblo war chiefs have black canes of office, which in some pueblos are said to be Spanish canes of office. No "black" wood grows in our Southwest, and the term

to keep order and decency. It is not obligatory for the *alcalde* to provide for feasts, but he may do so, and for Corpus Cristi an *alcalde* provides a greased pole (see below).

This is the same system that is described in 1573. "A *principal*, the best to be found, is to be *alcalde de la doctrina* and to have an *alguacil* in every *parcialidad* whose duty it is to bring in absentees or to bring a charge against them if they remain away; and, if malignity is notable, to report to the priest, he to inquire into the cause of the obstruction and, if it is not proper, to keep them in the stocks a day or two, or if they merit greater punishment the *alcalde* is to order them given two or three dozen lashes.⁸³ If they persist in not attending the indoctrination, *their hair will be cut off, which is the greatest outrage that can be done against them.*⁸⁴ In such wise they are careful to come to listen to *la doctrina.*"⁸⁵

I. CORPUS CRISTI CELEBRATIONS IN THE VALLEY OF CHILLOS PICHINCHA PROVINCE, MAY, 1940⁸⁶

Amaguaña is a White village with Quechua-speaking Indians on the outskirts. At New Year's, the parish priest appoints *priostes* to serve for Corpus and other feasts, particularly that of San Pedro, the patron saint. The *priostes* are chosen from among landowning Indians neighboring the haciendas in the parish of Amaguaña. The *priostes* serve the Indian *peones* attached to the haciendas, and their number depends on the number of *peones* that work on the haciendas. For the Hacienda San Rafael there are two *priostes*. For Corpus there are four boys called "Turcos," who take part in the procession organized by the *priostes*. Two of these Turcos recite *loas* [religious poems]. The celebration of Corpus begins on the Thursday and carries over through Monday. Each *prioste* takes charge of two days.

At *las visperas* a band from the village plays at the house of the *prioste*, and a boy of ten, in a black felt hat, with a bunch of bananas strung across his shoulders and a rifle on his back, dances and jumps in time to the music in the yard in front of the house. The *prioste* hands out a gourd of *chicha*. Simultaneously, brushwood (*chamizas*) is being gathered in a near-by field to the tune of a *pingullo* and a drum, played by the same man.

"Black Cane Old Man" for the Isletan war chief has been puzzling. Possibly the friars introduced *chonta* wood canes into New Mexico.

Among Aymará the *alcalde*, appointed nominally by the *hacendado*, is the executive officer in cases of violence or warfare, and Bandelier (pp. 82-84) compares him quite properly with the annual war captain of the Pueblos, the outside or country or field chief, *tsatio hocheni*, of the Keres.

Among Pueblos the interrelation of permanent war chiefs and annual war captains has been from the historical, acculturative point of view extremely perplexing. South American data throw a light. Probably the Ecuador *alcalde-alguacil* religious system prevailed in New Mexico until 1620, when secularization set in, but the *alcalde-alguacil* system persisted, merely combining somewhat with the new secular system. Therefore, in reconstructing the history of the Pueblo "war captains," three factors must be considered: pre-Conquest organization for war, the *alcalde* structure of the early Church, and secularization after 1620 and yet retention of religious or ceremonial character.

Here is a good illustration of acculturation at different time levels.

⁸³ *Alcaldes ordinarios* (Whites appointed by the Audiencia, the high court) were to indemnify an Indian in any slight matter or, if he had injured another, to whip him (Quito, 1573, p. 98).

⁸⁴ Italics mine. This hair-cutting is the greatest injury next to death (*ibid.*, p. 99).

⁸⁵ Quito, 1573, p. 91.

⁸⁶ Written by Juan L. Gorrell.

One of the Turcos arrives on a horse, caparisoned neck and rump with cotton cloth and ribbons. The Turco himself wears a new linen suit and new felt fedora, suit and hat decorated with ribbons and rosettes of colored paper. Led by the Turco, a procession forms—the band, visitors, and the men loaded with brushwood. The band no longer plays, but the man with the *pingullo* and drum keeps up his tune.

This group arrives in the village about dark and joins with a group from the house of the other *prioste* in front of the priest's house. The two Turcos who are to recite the *loas* are mounted on horseback behind the two other mounted Turcos. With the group there are also two bull calves, one carrying two little baskets of fruit, the other a mat to which fruit is tied. This fruit is for the priest.⁸⁷ Mats with fruit are also carried on the heads of the *priostes* to be thrown to those in the procession after the Sunday Mass. The Mass will cost each of the two *priostes* a hundred sures.

After the recital of the *loas*, the priest throws down some money, and the party moves on to a *cantina*, where the band plays while the *prioste* buys drinks for the whole party. Later in the evening the brushwood will be burned in front of the church. This is called *quemar las chamizas* and is said to be customary in Spain at the feast of San Pedro. In Quito on the eve of San Pedro little boys build bonfires on street corners.

The next day, Sunday, late in the afternoon, the *peones de hacienda*, the *priostes* and their families, and a few other landowning Indian neighbors visit the Hacienda San Rafael to dance and feast. Two calves have been killed, and *mazamorra* has been prepared, salt *mazamorra* and the sweet *mazamorra* called *champuz*, which is the traditional dish in Ecuador, as in Spain, for Corpus Cristi. A greased pole, *castillo*, stands in the court. Nailed to the top of this is a mat with fruit attached and money in handkerchiefs tied to upright sticks. Besides, the *patrón* gives cloth, spoons, earrings, and other presents to the *peones de hacienda*.

The Thursday-Friday *prioste* is the dance leader, *guía*. He and two others are called *yumbos* (jungle Indians) and carry wooden lances. One is masked, and one carries over his back a basket strung with seashells. They are all dressed in brand-new, spick-and-span white drill suits. Hanging by the corner, sewn to the pockets at either side are bright new bandana handkerchiefs. Ribbons hang from the belt in front and from the center of the belt behind and brass bells also hang from the belt. Two bandanas folded in triangle are stretched across his back from shoulder to hip. He wears a blond wig of long flax and a feather crown called *wimcha*. The feathers are cock-of-the-rock (*gallo de la peña*), peacock, and birdskins, head and all, of birds from the Oriente, including a hummingbird. Along the headband⁸⁸ are strung two-sucres pieces and disused silver coins called *soles*. The other *yumbos* are also be-wigged, but only the masked one has a feather crown; it lacks the rarer feathers and coins.⁸⁹

The *yumbos* are followed by three masked *diablos*. [*Diablo* masks are helmet

⁸⁷ In an ordinance for New Spain and the Windward Islands it is stated that at the *cofradía fiestas* of the Indians the *alferes*, standard-bearers, have each to contribute to the *cura* bottles of wine, meat, and fruit, after the parties in their houses which lead to drunkenness, wounds, and death. The election of *alferes* is prohibited (Vasquez, p. 324).

⁸⁸ In early Quito men wore a *banda* of wool, shaggy, "worked like a carpet" (Quito, 1573, p. 72).

⁸⁹ Lance, feather headdress with spangles (coins instead of shells), and even kerchiefs and ribbons (instead of trophies) strongly suggest the Jibaro warrior (see Stirling, p. 46). For lance see p. 104, n. 20.

shape, double faced, and of dark cotton cloth with embroidered designs, all varying. The snake near or in the mouth is peculiarly interesting. Eye and mouth holes are fortified with extra cloth and firmly stitched. Both noses and the one pair of ears consist of loops which look like jug handles. From the top stands up a bunch of stiff, finger-shaped pieces with tassels.] One mask is dark blue; one, black; one, blue on one side, white on the other. On one mask near the mouth a coiled snake is embroidered with a cross below it. The *diablos* pantomime and do not speak. *They chase children and Indian adults and beat the ground with their whip.* They make signs for drinks, food, cigarettes. While I am writing notes as I talk to the *alcalde*, one *diablo* comes up, takes away my pencil, and on the cover of my notebook writes his name. He has heard me say I would like to buy his mask.⁹⁰

Diablos and *yumbos* dance, first a jumping step in single file all around the premises, the *yumbos* waving their lances. Later, other *diablos* appear, and a dance circle is formed, the dancers holding hands or handkerchiefs. At a call from the *guía*, the circle changes direction. In this dance the *yumbo* lances are set in the ground. There are two other dances: a dance in columns, backward and forward, rather stately, with the *guía* calling the turns or shouting remarks, and *la trenza*, "the braid," by four couples, each couple with joined hands held high and a couple passing under the raised hands of the others and, having passed and turned around, moving on to the end of the line.

All these dances are to the tune of *pingullo* and drum-player. The *alcalde* translates from Quechua some of the remarks shouted by the *guía*:

Año por año pasamos así, pasamos pueblo, pasamos Amaguaña. . . . Con susto, con pena estamos pasando. . . . De otras haciendas vinieron pegando, hicieron minga, hicieron misa, no pudieron pegar. . . . Fiesta, fiesta, sólo por fiesta bajamos de los pajonales al pueblo. . . . León, tigre, oso querían comer, escapamos, bajamos por día de Corpus. . . . Manos llenas de canela, manos llenas de. . . . Apo⁹¹ padre nos ha llamado, por eso vinimos para hacer fiesta. . . .

Year after year we come like this, passing the village, passing Amaguaña. . . . Afraid, with sadness we are coming. . . . From other haciendas they came hitting, they made a *minga*, they said a Mass, but they couldn't hit us. . . .⁹² The feast, the feast, only for the feast we have come down from the grassy wastes to the village. . . . Lion, tiger, bear wants to eat us,⁹³ we escaped; we came for the day of Corpus. . . . Our hands full of cinnamon, hands full of [various things to eat are mentioned]. . . . The lord priest has called us, for that reason we have come to make the feast.

Monday there is to be another *castillo*, presented by the *alcalde*. The tree will be freshly cut, because a young tree takes the grease better and is more slippery. The

⁹⁰ On an earlier visit to Amaguaña, Mr. Gorrell and I did buy two masks (one for 2 sucres, the other for 6 sucres, with the assistance of the Cholo maskmaker, who stated that he was the sole maker of these "Montero" masks, which are worn at the *fiestas* of Corpus and San Pedro. For thirteen years he has been copying worn-out masks brought him by the Indian wearers.

⁹¹ In Quechua *apu* means "chief," "lord," e.g., *hatun apu*, "great lord" (Garcilasso, II, 185-86, 315). The term is applied today in Peru to the Mountain spirits and the respected old men (Mishkin, p. 237).

⁹² Formerly the Indians of San Rafael Hacienda belonging to the Chiriboga family had a feud with the Indians of the near-by hacienda belonging to Don Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño. Fights still occur, sometimes fatal. Inter-hacienda Indian fights at feasts were as common in Ecuador as in Bolivia (cf. Bandler, pp. 88, 114-15). Dancers from La Compañía Hacienda, formerly a Jesuit property, would come to "win the square" (*ganar la plaza para bailar*) and then begin to fight with those of Juan Montalvo (*luego comienza la riña con los de Juan Montalvo*) (Segundo Félix Maldonado).

⁹³ Possibly a survival reference to attack by spirit animals, to shamanistic attack.

mat will be on top with oranges, bananas, and bread, with handkerchiefs sometimes with coins tied in them, and with a half-bottle of *puro* (rum) for the *bailarines*, the dancers. (Prosperous *alcaldes* may put guinea pigs and roast chickens on the pole.)

J. EASTER WHIPPINGS AND VISITS⁹⁴

If at any time during the year a boy offends his father's elder brother or other kinsman, the kinsman may say, "Well, today I am not punishing you, but at Easter you will pay me for what you have done."

At Easter they prepare *chicha* and *cariucho caldos* (broths) and cinnamon water as pay for two or three fierce old men whom they invite to come and punish the boy or boys. One will carry the boy, another hold his feet, and another beat him hard with a rawhide whip—six strokes, at each stroke giving counsel about behavior. Then they take the boy to bathe in very cold water, pouring water over him and rubbing him with nettles. Then they make him kiss the hands and feet of the whipper. After all this punishment they give the boy cinnamon water and broth.

This punishment is administered at from three to four in the morning. Then they continue to eat and drink for *felices pascuas*, for happy Easter. This custom comes down from our fathers and grandfathers from years back and refers to the punishment taken by our Lord Jesucristo.⁹⁵

Also at Easter we pay visits to *compadres* and *comadres* and *padrinos*, to the fathers, and to the parents of son- or daughter-in-law (*consuegros*). A *mediano* is carried by the visitors: *chicha* of sprouted maize (*jora de maíz*), an *arroba* (barrel) of potatoes, a dozen guinea pigs, three or four chickens that are good and yellow, three or four *sucres* worth of eggs, and a liter of *puro*.

Boys go from house to house, asking blessings of the elder people. The people of the house are careful to offer something to the boys. Each person asks a blessing with three *alabados*. Kneeling before the elder, he says three times, "Bendito, alabado sea Señor Santísimo Sacramento del Altar [Blessed, praised be the Lord, Holiest Sacrament of the Altar]." After giving the blessing, they give the food and drink.

K. DAY OF THE APOSTLES SAN PEDRO AND SAN PABLO JUNE 29, AT JUAN MONTALVO⁹⁶

The church feast of these patron saints lasts only one day, but the people prolong it to at least three days. Besides, they dance every Sunday until the last Sunday in July, the feasts of these supplementary days being referred to as *octavas*.⁹⁷

For two or three months people have been zealously preparing costumes and practicing songs and dance. There are several groups of dancers, *aruchicos*,⁹⁸ from three or four to ten in each group. In any house arranged for, a group will be arrayed. Then they dance in that house for a moment before visiting the houses of the neighborhood.

⁹⁴ Reported by Francisco Andrango Cabezas.

⁹⁵ Cf. Easter whipping in Mexico to make children grow (Parsons 2:276, 523) and Mexican-Pueblo whipping and plunging into water by clown or bogey masks (Parsons and Beals, p. 499).

⁹⁶ Based on report written by Segundo Félix Maldonado.

⁹⁷ Such festive extensions are common in Mexico and are characteristic of the early Church calendar. But this San Pedro and San Pablo extension is unusually prolonged. Note that it covers some of the period of the Peruvian Raymi celebration.

⁹⁸ No etymology available, regular term for *dancers*.

On entering a yard, "almost as a salute," they dance around the yard about five minutes. Then the chief or *capitán* addresses the owners of the house. Then, if *chicha* is at hand (in many houses it is not made), the woman of the house will give the *capitán* the *dixmos* (tithes): an *azafate* (flat bowl) of *chicha* or of *guarango*⁹⁹ (fermented agave juice) to distribute to the dancers. Formerly this was gratis, but today they pay for it "according to the friendship they have or according to the quality of the drink."

Following the *capitán*, they form a circle around the yard, every three or four minutes giving half a turn. At every three steps they make a bow, each individually. Some dancers take three slow steps, and then three short quick steps and so alternately; other dancers stamp "as if making the ground hard with one foot." Each dancer carries a flute or a *tunda*.¹⁰⁰

For about five minutes before leaving, they dance with special enthusiasm and sing their thanks to the *dueña*. The *capitán* sings first, and then the group, repeating his words. They sing:

Na llugshirine, dueño de casa. Dio selo pague! Agradecene, mamalla comadre, taitalla compadre! Cila manta alpacama, agradecinche, i u-u-ucu-u!¹⁰¹ Hay llugshirishun, guagua, hay llugshirishun malqui, tuctulla marquilla. Huatapa ca irinilla sirijungui.

Now I am going to leave, owner of the house. God only (re)pay you! Thank you, little mother comadre, little father compadre! From earth to heaven we are thankful u-u-ucu-u! We are leaving, child, we are leaving *malqui* (branch of a tree) all of us *marquilla*. For the year may this be done (*que está echado para el año*).

In the road they go in file at a moderate trot, the *capitán* always in front or behind, displaying his whip. To music or without it they sing:

Aycha yanurca, ñuca San Pedro, guatagatapi ay purigunchi, dueño de casa, hay yaycuni, chungaycuilla hay urmanugpi, chashna purinchi, hay loco cuenta, maimanta lucu, dueño de casa, mana lucucho, ñuca llushaya, hay unauchi, chasna purine, hay loco cuenta. Misericordiat! Caparichi malqui, hay caymanchayman, iuuuuu!

Hay richurishun, toro shitian. Santo plazape. Torosho mulato. Ñuca urmapi, jari jarilla, hay shuyaringue, vuelta ta tucushun, reverenshalpa, hay llugshirine, iuuu! Hay guatapaca, mana causasha, hay purijuni, ishca y tuctuan, ishca malquihuan, ima tiyacpi, jari jarilla, hay shayaringue, ñuca urmapi, amaromaringue, vuelta tucushun hay caimanchayman compañiata (contrario) jacuricushun hishca y llatapa, jacu-urmariuchun, Luna shirrupan. Misericordiat! Caparichi malqui. Intishi guaño, Misericordiat!

At last he comes, our San Pedro, after a year, we go, *dueño de casa*, we enter, happy, falling like this we go, we go like crazy things. Where is the crazy man from? *Dueño de casa*, he isn't crazy. We will leave, ay, we go like this, we go like crazy things. *Misericordiat!* We yell like this, here and there and everywhere, i uuuuu!

We shall be seeing each other. There is a bullfight. They are placing the Saint in the plaza! The bull is *mulato*. When I fall down, you stand up like a man, ay, stand up, we'll turn around, we'll make a bow. I am going out. i uu! For a year I won't drink.¹⁰² Let's all make two (?) branches. If anything happens, stand up like a man, you will stand up when I fall down, you

⁹⁹ A local name.

¹⁰⁰ A large flute, eight to twelve centimeters long, two to four centimeters in diameter, and with three holes that are stopped with the fingers, and at one end another hole to blow through.

¹⁰¹ This prolongation of the *u* they dedicate to the family of the house, to those present, and for the ensuing year—one for the *huasicama* (porter, gatekeeper, caretaker), another for the *dueño de casa*; for each one named they say *u u ucuu*.

¹⁰² A hint here of ritual abstinence. Cf. the prolonged abstinence of the Jibaro slayer.

won't fall down. We go around here and there and everywhere all together (*contrario*). Let's go and see, for two years we are going to fall. The moon give us light. *Misericordial* The sun has gone out. *Misericordial*

Some of the performers dress and dance in Spanish style, using Spanish instruments. Others wear a cotton mask called *diabiuma* (devil's head). It covers head and neck and has two faces, before and behind. A black woolen cloth coat is worn and chaps of goatskin with thick long hair. Some wear rattles of gourds; others wear, strapped crosswise, a bag (*linche*) filled with produce, small domestic animals or wild animals and birds.¹⁰³ The *capitán*, who is the smartest and most intelligent of the Indians, will wear this mask and costume, and he always carries a large whip.

The use of the mask is lapsing. The Indians today do not like it. Formerly it was used a great deal, especially by the *conciertos*, the Indians of the haciendas, of "Santo Domingo," "La Compañía," "Pesillo," "El Lato," "El Chahuarungo." (Most of these haciendas belonged to the Orders; La Compañía to the Jesuits, Pesillo to the Mercedarians.) Some say that the Indian first made the mask; others say it was the White man who first made it.

L. OMENS¹⁰⁴

OWL ("CUSCUNGO")

When there is a sick person in the house who is sure to die, the owl comes from the mountains and in the tree next the house and at night cries slowly *cuscungó*, *cuscungó*, ending with *cotocotó cotocotó*, a frightening echo. As yet I have not seen or heard it, but it is a very strange thing that this mountain bird appears only when a person is about to die and sits in a tree near the house of the sick person.

DOVE

It is believed by almost everybody that when a dove cries alone in a near-by tree, two or three weeks later the person who lives nearest to the tree or the owner will die. The dove announces the death of a good person of noble spirit who has lived well, almost without intrigue. The dove coos from five in the morning to midday, from five to seven in the evening, and at midnight, for two or three days.¹⁰⁵

HEN

When a hen crows like a cock, a rare phenomenon, it is announcing the death of some member of the family.¹⁰⁶ To preclude the death, the person who hears the hen crow must immediately catch and kill her or burn her beak. This offsets the *chiqui* or bad luck for the house.

HUMMINGBIRD OR BAT

If a hummingbird or a bat (*murciélago*) flies into a house, it brings the message that the house is to be abandoned.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ Possibly a substitute for war trophies such as the Jibaros fasten to the belt.

¹⁰⁴ Reported by Segundo Félix Maldonado.

¹⁰⁵ Owl and dove are called witch birds (*aves brujas*); they are the first to know who is going to die. To make the bird leave, you wave burning charcoal or a firebrand through the tree (Francisco Andrango Cabezas).

¹⁰⁶ Such a "witch hen" brings death. When a hen falls at night from her perch, a relative is going to die. When cocks crow in the afternoon or at sundown, it is an announcement of bad times, such as hunger (F. A. C.).

¹⁰⁷ Reported by Francisco Andrango Cabezas.

DOG

When a dog belonging to the house digs a hole with his front paws anywhere near the house, it is certain that death is over someone in the house. They say, "Dog, why are you digging a grave? *Dios mio*, which of us is to die?" They beat the dog, saying that what he has done is *chiqui*, bad luck, for the house.

It is a certain sign of death if a dog barks staccato many hours of the night. The bark is not the way he always barks. The staccato barking has an echo that is frightening and sad. It is *au au* twice in succession, and after two or three seconds he barks the same way again, and again after a few minutes, and after a few minutes he barks four or five times in succession rapidly. He keeps up this kind of barking three or four hours during the night.

It is very different from the howl. People say that when the dog howls it is because he is seeing a soul (*alma*).¹⁰⁸

Dogs bark when they have become separated from owner or master. But a dog barks also when he is together with his master in the house; the dog will go out to the street and begin to howl.

GUINEA PIG

When the guinea pigs in one of the corners of the room begin to complain as the sick complain, they are indicating to the owners of the house that just so they are going to be sick and complain.¹⁰⁹

SQUASH AND BARLEY

If for several years the yield of squash (*xambos* and *zapallos*) is too great to harvest or store, it indicates the death of a relative. Death is also indicated when *lanchados*, black powder (? rust), is caused by drizzle (*lancha*) in barley that is heading up.¹¹⁰

WOMEN AND MEN

When a person leaves his house to go on a long trip or on any important errand, if on going out of the house or in the street he meets with a woman, it is *chiqui*. For example, if he goes to collect a debt, it is sure that he will not find the debtor or that at least the debtor will not pay. If he goes merely for a trip, they will talk¹¹¹ to him and run up against him, or some kind of trouble happens. For this reason they say that women are *chiquis chiquis* because something bad always happens. If a person, on leaving the house, first meets a man, it is positive [favorable], all business, any kind of errand, everything, will go well, and so they are pleased, saying, "First, I met a man, so I succeeded in everything and the whole day went happily."¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ Same belief among Tapirape of Brazil (Wagley 1:258). Jibaro, Canelos, and Napo Indians believe that the dead may be reincarnated in dogs (Karsten 4:477).

¹⁰⁹ Reported by Francisco Andrango Cabezas.

¹¹⁰ Reported by Francisco Andrango Cabezas.

¹¹¹ *Hablar*, idiom common among Indians and Cholos for "bawling out."

¹¹² Reported by José Antonio Maldonado, who states that he himself believes in these women and men omens.

M. SACRIFICES¹¹³

Always in work on bridges, in tunnels, in caves,¹¹⁴ in irrigation ditches or conduits, in any dark (*tenebroso*) work, always there is a spirit (*duende*) who obstructs the work. For him to consent to easy work and to complete it, the spirit-owner asks the engineer and construction boss (*sobrestante*) to give him men and women, tools, and animals. In order to be allowed to work on and complete the bridge of the Río Guachalá that joins with the Grenobles, they delivered to the spirit six *combos* (stonemason's hammers), twelve new-handled shovels, twelve crowbars, twelve picks, two sheep, and two young Indians. They had Dionisio throw into mid-river, from the center of the bridge, all these tools, and during the work on the bridge two young men died.

In this kind of work one takes great care not to hurt one's self, and, if one does, one takes great care to hide the blood, because they say that the overseers and the engineers¹¹⁵ are on the lookout for those who hurt themselves to get the blood and sign the name of the person who is hurt, signing as many names as the number of persons the spirit may have asked for. Once the desired number is secured, they deliver them to the spirit. For this, in the middle of the arch of the bridge there is always a window, where they leave the signatures signed in blood;¹¹⁶ and the men will have to die, in some way or other, at this very job.

It is believed that the spirit that owns the swimming pool of Ishigto has asked for three persons and that for this reason people have died in this pool. Until the number is completed, there is always danger in bathing there. That's why the inhabitants of Juan Montalvo are afraid to bathe in the pool, lest they die.

Now it is easy to understand what happened in the cave (*socabón*) of La Maresca.¹¹⁷ They say that the owner of the cave, that is, the spirit, asked for a bull, tools, a mule, and a pregnant woman, in order to allow the river to pass through the cave. Now, as no pregnant woman had assisted at this work, they were not able to deliver one or, worse, get her blood; they say they delivered only the rest, less the pregnant woman. Therefore, they say, the spirit himself attracted the woman. As it was a novelty and a matter of curiosity to see water passing through the cave, many persons went to see the river pass through the cave, and among them went a pregnant woman. She was among several ladies who came close to the cave. When they left, the pregnant woman fell back a little and returned alone to look at the cave. On returning, she saw a priest¹¹⁸ dressed in green who called to her, and she shouted from fear, she said, and cried out to her companions, but they did not see the priest. A few days later the woman died from fright (*espanto*).

Such is the belief about all persons who die in the construction of bridges, caves, ditches—the belief that their souls are delivered to the owner of the work, to the *duende*, the spirit.

¹¹³ Reported by José Antonio Maldonado as general belief and as told him by a neighbor, Dionisio Abalco, a young peon.

¹¹⁴ In pre-Inca belief caves were sacred (Garcilasso, I, 47).

¹¹⁵ Cf. folk gossip in Mexico about murder by engineers (Parsons 2:467). Here body oil for automobiles was the motivation; possibly this derived from some fear of ritual murder.

¹¹⁶ Is this notion derived from "cornerstone" tokens?

¹¹⁷ See p. 136, n. 56.

¹¹⁸ See p. 135.

N. DREAMS

REPORTED BY JOSE ANTONIO MALDONADO

1. If a person dreams he is catching fleas or lice or if he dreams of a cat, it is sure someone has been stealing. Whether the theft is of animals or of things, it is sure someone has been stealing.
2. If one dreams of a sheep, it is because some wish is not going to be realized; for example, if one is ready to undertake a journey and he dreams of a sheep, it is because the journey is to be put off.
3. When one dreams of drinking *chicha* or rum, it is going to rain.
4. If a person dreams he is falling off a tree, it is because one of the family is surely going to die. If he dreams he is eating any kind of meat—beef, mutton, pork—it is sure that a relative, if not one of the family, has died.
5. If a person dreams of lizards or reptiles or that a pig follows him to bite him, it is because someone is bewitching him.¹²⁹
6. If one dreams of a halter, it is because he is going to go on a long trip.
7. If one dreams of water, it is because he is going to cry for some misfortune that is to happen.
8. A dream of eggs is to acquire tumors.

REPORTED BY FRANCISCO ANDRANGO CABEZAS¹³⁰

9. Dreaming of seeing a wolf or a rat (*perricote*) or of catching worms or lice means someone is going to steal animals or to steal something from the house.
10. Many sheep means staying home from a trip.
11. Drinking rum, *nevada*—heavy snow or hoar frost; drinking *guarango*—a strong drizzle (*paramear* from *páramo*).
12. Carrying an image, a funeral procession, finishing an earthen wall fence (*contra zanja*) or a house wall, putting out a candle—all these dreams mean someone in the household is to die.
13. Death of a relative, weeping for a dead person, or lifting a dead person—an animal of the house or of a neighbor is to die.
14. Large plantings of wheat or mounds of wheat—you will be asked for what you owe.
15. A planting of barley or mound of barley—getting money.
16. A cat—you will see a fight.
17. Counting or seeing money—you are sleeping cold.
18. Hot cooked potatoes—you are sleeping warm.
19. Dancing in costume (*fiesta* dancing)—there is going to be wind.
20. Gathering flowers in a garden—you are going to be made a *compadre*.
21. Catching hen with chickens—you are lucky.
22. Guinea pig, one or more—you will be sick.

¹²⁹ Cf. p. 206.¹³⁰ Note that Nos. 9–11 are variants of Nos. 1–3 in Maldonado's list.

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INDEX

- Absentee ownership, 8, 12 (n. 21)
 Acculturation, 3, 6, 9, 151, 180, 181, 182, 190 (n. 12), 207 (n. 82)
 Adoption, 144
 Adultery, 59, 87, 139-40, 144
 Agriculture, 18-20, 171, 184, 187, 195; efficiency of Indian, 8
Aire, mal, 47, 64, 89, 141, 169, 196, 203
 Alcaldes: *de capilla*, 160, 162, 207, 208, 210-11; saint's day, 83; wedding, 57-58
 All Saints' Day, 111
 All Souls' Day, 111, 155
 Altar, 17, 57, 87, 98, 105, 108-9; sorcerer's, 75-77
 Amazon Valley, parallels with, iv, 172, 175, 176 (Table 2), 177
 Animals: domestic, 177, 184-85; in folklore and religion, 125-26, 128-29, 131, 134, 136-37, 138-44, 146-48, 175, 180, 204-7, 216; wild, 32, 189
 Archeology in Ecuador, 2
Auka, 44, 89, 94
Ayllu, 39, 57-58, 106
 Aymará Indians, 3, 44 (n. 44), 66 (n. 150), 88 (n. 36), 91 (n. 54), 134 (n. 52), 177, 207 (n. 82)
 Baptism, 44-45, 81, 85, 142, 152, 179, 193, 204
 Barley, 12, 18-20, 147, 178, 184, 187, 214, 216
 Basketry, 16
 Bath, 46, 109, 111; baby's, 46-47; after confinement, 46, 157; curing, 110, 120, 168; after death, 119, 200, 203; eve of San Juan, 109-10; after wedding, 58, 119, 148, 195
 Beans, 18-20
 Benalcázar, Sebastian de, 4
 Birth, 42-44, 192; *see also* Baptism; Confinement
 Blowgun, 32
 Blowing and sprinkling rite, 68, 69-71, 74, 76-77, 119, 197
 Bolshevism, 5
Brujo, 58, 68, 73, 77, 139-40, 196-99, 207; *see also* Curing
 Burial, 77-80, 89, 97, 135, 202-3, 207; for unbaptized or bewitched, 44, 143; *see also* Death; Funeral services
 Calendar, 95-112, 180
 Candles, 57, 69-70, 73-75, 77, 98, 105, 109, 118, 164, 167, 169, 199
 Canes of office, 83, 95, 103, 161-62, 207
Capitán, 82-84, 99-104, 105, 106, 108-9, 116, 121, 154, 180, 181 (n. 23), 182, 207, 208, 212, 213
 Cara Indians, 2
 Caranque Indians, 1-3
 Cardinal directions, 114-15, 183; graves oriented in accordance with, 80, 114
 Carrying on back, 16, 43, 46, 51, 52, 61, 166
 Catholicism, 5-6, 149, 179, 180; *see also* Church, Catholic; Religion
 Cattle, 18, 136-38; purchase of, 13, 30
 Cayambe, iv, 1-3, 175, 180, 182, 183-216 (Appendix)
 Cayapa Indians, 2, 177
 Celebrations, 37, 38, 44, 56, 57-58, 81-84, 100-104, 105-7, 108-11, 116, 152, 180, 183, 189, 194-95
 Cemetery, 44, 78-80, 89, 96-98, 111, 113, 135, 143, 202-3
 Charms, love, 55
Chicha, 23-24, 57, 75, 99, 106, 108, 110, 121-22, 134-35, 152, 159, 178, 184, 187-88, 193, 199-201, 208, 211-12, 216
Chicheria: introduction of, 9, 182; use of, 10, 23-24, 56-57, 98, 105, 110, 123, 152-53, 184, 209
 Chickens, 15, 17, 45, 185, 211; as offering, 66, 121
 Chiefs; *see* Leadership
 Children, 11, 42-53, 131-34, 149, 152, 154-55; backwardness in, 50; conceived before marriage, 59; at death, 78, 203; expected to co-operate, 51, 149, 155, 166, 184, 205; permissiveness with, 47-49, 155-56, 166; retain earnings, 168; sibling relations, 49-50, 149, 155-56; in tales, 131-34, 140-42, 182, 204
 Cholos, 1, 23, 145, 150, 158, 190 (n. 12)
 Church, Catholic: in colonial times, 4, 84, 174; collections by, 31, 164, 209; Indians as officials in, 5, 82-83, 160, 162, 207-8; Indians work for, 11-12, 83, 149, 160, 172; role as institution, 5-6, 13, 83-85, 160-61, 179-81; segregation in, 10, 96
 Cinnamon, ceremonial use of, 63, 67, 70-71, 74-75, 210-11
 Class differences in Indian community, 163, 166, 187, 189, 190 (n. 12); *see also* Indian-White relations
 Colombia: Indians of, parallels with, 118, 132 (n. 43), 141 (n. 74), 176, 182; knowledge of, 13; merchants or immigrants from,

- 9, 13 (n. 25), 30; Peguche man in, 26, 164; in story, 138
- Commerce; *see* Trading
- Concertaje*, 18 (n. 16), 188 (n. 11)
- Concierto*, 144, 181, 188-89, 206, 207, 208, 213; *see also* Hacienda
- Confession, 56, 120-21, 135, 136, 145, 166, 194 (n. 33), 205
- Confinement, 43-44, 46, 149, 152, 157, 192; *see also* Birth
- Confirmation, 81
- Cookery, 15, 21-23, 31, 170, 185
- Corn, 18-20, 147, 187; attacked by dogs, 17; preservation of, 15
- Courtship, 55
- Curing, 62-68, 69-72, 135, 150, 166-69, 195-99; in tales, 128; *see also* Disease
- Dancing, 52, 114, 115, 133, 134-35, 140, 156, 175-76, 180, 182, 183, 189, 194-95, 203; at baptism, 49; on saint's day, 83, 108-11, 208, 210, 211-13; on saint's day and Easter, 100-103, 104-7; at wedding, 57
- Death, 77-80, 166, 179; at birth or in infancy, 44; caused by rainbow, 66; in childbirth, 49; prediction of, 125, 199, 213-14, 216; of witch, 143-44, 199; *see also* Burial; Funeral services
- Diezmos*, 81, 134, 181
- Disease, 62-68, 86, 91, 93, 119-21, 126, 136, 166-69, 175, 195-99, 213-14, 216; in colonial times, 4; *see also* Curing
- Divination, 43, 67, 70, 73-77, 125-26, 174
- Division of labor: by household, 25, 54, 184; by sex, 19, 22-24, 25, 27, 31, 51, 53-54, 60-61, 171, 184; by village, 16, 160
- Divorce, 38, 58, 131, 161
- Dogs, 10, 17-18, 51, 137, 139, 159, 172, 175, 196, 214
- Domestic service: Indian girls at curacy, 56, 182; Indians to Indians, 48, 49, 50, 152, 157, 162-63, 166; Indians to Whites, 10, 137-38
- Dreams, 126, 151, 174, 216; as omens, 126, 216
- Dress, 27-30, 150, 162, 171, 179; children's, 49, 51; at wedding, 57
- Drunkenness, 45-46, 54, 57, 60, 69, 77-78, 83, 88, 90, 99-104, 106-7, 110, 120-24, 133, 134, 135-36, 152-53, 154, 171, 175, 178, 194-95, 207
- Ecuador, 1-6
- Education: for co-operation in adult tasks, 51, 53-54, 149, 155, 166; in religious matters, 86, 207-8; sex, 53; *see also* Schools
- Eggs: at confinement, 44; curing use of, 64-66, 135, 196-99; at death, 200
- Encomenderos*, 174, 182
- Encomienda*, 3-4, 9, 86, 171, 181
- English parallels, early or medieval, 7 (n. 2), 31 (n. 89), 158, 181 (nn. 25 and 27), 182 and n. 29, 188 (n. 8), 200 (n. 55)
- European parallels, medieval, 44 (n. 45), 56 (n. 100)
- Exorcism, 71, 119-20, 136, 137, 142-43, 144, 168, 198; *see also* Spirits
- Family, 33-62, 149, 159, 162-63, 164-65, 172; *see also* Marriage
- Fertilizer, 17, 19, 171
- Fields, location of, 14, 18, 183, 186-87
- Fireworks, 83
- "First fruits"; *see* *Primicia*
- Flowers, 55, 58, 74-76, 78, 98, 101, 103, 198
- Folk tales, 127-48, 182, 191-93, 204-7
- Food: at birth, 192; as charity, 97, 158, 165; at death, 77-78, 80, 93, 171, 199-200; as gifts, 45, 55, 83, 97, 106-7, 111, 121, 134, 158, 159, 162, 189, 193-94, 200, 209; as offerings, 65, 78, 80, 81, 87, 98, 111, 122, 171; origin of, 147; as pay, 11-12, 80, 96, 102, 158; preparation of, 21-24, 111, 120-21, 166, 170, 178, 182, 185; sealing friendship with, 123, 170; and the supernatural, 131, 216; taboos, 198; at wedding, 57, 194; wild, 189
- Funeral services, 81, 179, 199-203; *see also* Burial; Death
- Games, 38, 194-95, 200-203; children's, 51-53, 114, 154-55, 156; in folklore, 128-29
- Garcilaso de la Vega, 1, 2, 6, 172, 175, 179
- Genealogies, 34-37
- Gesture, 61-62, 98
- Gifts, 155, 159; confinement, 159, 162; for godparents, 45, 211; at marriage, 55, 193, 195; for patron saints, 83; from supernatural, 130-31
- Godparents, 44-46, 78, 86, 96, 99, 114, 122-23, 150, 163, 193; at marriage, 56-58, 99, 131, 193-95, 202; at saint's visit, 85
- Guatemalan parallels, 4 (n. 20), 24 (n. 64), 85 (n. 20), 87 (n. 28), 92 (n. 59), 112 (n. 49), 114 (n. 5), 123 (n. 71), 131 (n. 38), 134 (n. 51)
- Guinea pigs, 10, 16, 158, 166, 174, 177, 183, 185, 211, 214, 216; curing with, 64-68, 168, 196, 197-99, 207; as offering, 65, 93, 121
- Hacendado*, 182, 209; in folklore, 137-38; introducer of weaving, 25-27; offerings to, 121

- Hacienda, 8-9, 12-13, 171, 183, 184, 188-89, 205, 209
- Hair, 28, 55, 150, 157, 175, 205; cutting of, as punishment, 28 (n. 81), 208
- Heaven, 87-88, 135-36, 179, 199-200, 203
- Hell, 87, 130, 135-36, 179, 180
- Holy Week, 96-99
- Hospitality, 10, 23, 55-56, 124, 130, 134-35, 151, 155, 158, 159, 160, 165, 180, 194
- House, 14-17, 170, 177, 183; building of, 34, 38, 133, 140, 183; consecration of, 34; ownership of, 38, 183
- Huayna Cápac, 2
- Humor, 62, 72-73, 152, 154, 156, 158, 161
- Hunting, 32, 189, 201-2
- Ibarra, 1, 4, 84-85, 141
- Illegitimacy, 59
- Ilumán, Indians of, 25
- Impersonation, 101-2, 105, 108-11, 118, 176, 209
- Impregnation, belief about, 43, 53, 175, 191
- Inca Empire, 1-3, 6, 13, 163, 172-75, 178; parallels with, 173 (Table 1)
- Indian, definition of, 1
- Indian-White differences, 10-13, 20-21, 44-46, 81, 96-98, 101-2, 145, 184, 213
- Indian-White menage, 10, 54, 174, 190 (n. 12), 191
- Indian-White relations, 10-13, 20-21, 26, 30-32, 44-46, 53, 54, 64, 73, 102, 105, 108-9, 111, 124, 149, 150-51, 156, 163, 177-82
- Infant mortality, 44
- Inheritance, 38, 129, 186-87
- Insanity, 33 (n. 2), 50, 66
- Irrigation, 8, 19
- Jefe político*, 5, 202
- Jewelry, 29-30, 150, 166; ritual use of, 29-30
- Jibaro: knowledge of, 13, 139; parallels with, 172, 175-77; *see also* Amazon Valley
- Jijón y Caamaño, Jacinto, 5, 117, 210 (n. 92)
- Kinship terms, 39-41; use of, 113, 161, 163, 179
- Kissing, 50, 57, 61, 96, 98-99, 114, 180, 194, 201, 207
- Kneeling, 57, 96, 98, 105, 114
- Labor; *see* Division of labor; *Minga*
- Land: allotment of, to *peones*, 9; boundaries of, 20, 186-87; for pasture, 8, 188-89
- Land tenure, 8-9, 20-21, 174, 181, 186-87, 188-89
- Languages, native, spoken before Inca conquest, 2-3, 172, 174
- Leadership: aboriginal, 4-5; among hacienda Indians, 12-13, 183, 187, 189; Indian, 174, 177, 181-82
- Lightning, 153-54, 175
- Literacy, 156-57, 185
- Loom: Indian, 9-10, 25-27, 170, 183-84; Spanish, 9, 25-27, 184; *see also* Weaving
- Love: in folklore, 127; romantic, 55
- Love charms, 55
- Maestro de capilla*, 84-85, 86, 88-89, 143, 153, 154, 160-61
- Maestro de doctrina*, 83 (n. 10), 86
- Maestro (maytro) rezador*, 55-56, 77, 80, 84, 96, 113, 164
- Market, in Otavalo, 10, 13, 17, 30-32, 111, 161, 181
- Marriage, 33, 53, 54-55, 125-26, 147-48, 149, 174, 193, 194-95, 202; ceremony, 55-58; gifts, 55, 193; go-between, 55, 193; importance of, 59-60, 125; regulations governing, 38-39, 54-55, 179
- Mask, 95, 98, 107, 116-18, 134-35, 176, 181, 209-10, 213
- Mass, 111, 135, 160, 207; in colonial times, 114 (n. 4); after confinement, 47; for dead, 81, 143; on Easter, 96, 98; at installation of *capitán*, 109, 111, 209; for rain, 8, 19, 108; on saint's day, 83, 115
- Matrilocal residence, 33, 149
- Medicine, 30, 166-67; *see also* Curing; Disease
- Medicine man; *see Brujo*
- Mestizo, 1; *see also* Cholos
- Mexican parallels, 4 (n. 20), 5-6, 12, 17, 20, 22, 27 (nn. 61 and 72), 31 and n. 89, 32 (n. 96), 56 (n. 100), 71 (n. 179), 81, 82 (n. 2), 83 and n. 7, 84, 85 (n. 20), 86 (n. 24), 87, 92 (n. 59), 95 (n. 6), 98 (n. 11), 104, 108 (n. 36), 110 and n. 39, 111, 115 (n. 10), 116 (n. 27), 117 and n. 33, 120 (n. 53), 123 and nn. 71, 73, 75, and 76, 124, 149 (n. 2), 153 (n. 8), 162, 170, 171 (n. 3), 180, 181 and n. 25, 188 (n. 8)
- Middle America, parallels with, iv, 24 (n. 64), 119 (n. 43), 120 (n. 53)
- Midwife, 43, 46, 67, 192
- Minga*, 11-12, 20, 32 (n. 5), 74-75, 83, 133, 149, 160, 163, 172, 181 (n. 27), 186, 187-88, 189
- Missionaries, 161
- Mitimaes*, 2-3
- Moon, 90-91, 112 (n. 50), 175
- Mountains: personified, 92-93, 127-29, 130-31, 175, 191; as source of disease, 63

- Music, 30-31, 57, 78, 83, 84, 99-100, 101-3, 104-7, 115-16, 134-35, 155, 176, 180, 188, 194, 200, 208-9, 212
- Myth, creation, 145-46
- Naming, 45 (n. 49), 46, 189-90; *see also* Baptism
- Narcotics, 30, 63
- Negrité, 52, 110, 117, 155-56, 176, 181 (n. 23)
- Negro, *baile de*, 106-11, 121
- Negroes, 1, 182, 206 (n. 77)
- Numerals, favored, 114-15, 180
- Nursing, 47-49
- Offerings, 116, 179, 180, 181; to Rainbow, 92
- Omen, 111-12, 125-26, 174, 187, 191, 213-14, 216
- Otavallo: in colonial times, 2-4; present-day, iv, 7; *see also* Indian-White relations; Market
- Owl, 125, 213
- Panpipes, 30-31, 84, 101, 116
- Parallels, cultural, iv, 170-82
- Parcialidad*, 4-5, 7, 21
- Patrilocal residence, 33
- Peones*, 8-9, 131, 182; *see also* *Concierto*
- Peru, modern, unknown, 13
- Physical type; *see* Race
- Pigeons, 17, 177
- Pigs, 17, 177; identified with Rainbow, 92, 94, 175, 191, 198, 204
- Pilgrimages, 93, 167
- Ponce de Leon, Sancho de Paz, 3
- Population: of Cayambe, 183; of Otavalo Province in 1582, 3-4
- Potatoes, 18-19, 147, 185, 187, 195, 205, 216
- Pottery, 15-16, 24-25, 111, 170, 171
- Prayer, 84-86, 91, 93, 96-97, 105, 112, 113, 118, 143, 153, 158, 167, 169, 179, 200; essential in curing, 62, 168
- Priests, 5, 44, 56-57, 73, 81, 96, 114, 120, 135, 139, 142-43, 160-61, 166, 202, 215; in colonial times, 4, 84; relations with Indians, 10, 56, 81, 83-84, 96, 101, 109, 149-50, 160-61, 164, 174, 207, 209
- Primicia*, 81, 181
- Prioste*; *see* *Capitán*
- Procession, 6, 78, 100, 104, 107, 109, 114-15, 180, 207, 209
- Protestants, 73, 160-61
- Pueblos; *see* *Parcialidad*
- Punishment: for adultery, 139-40, 144; for envy, 139; by hair-cutting, 28 (n. 81), 208; for lack of hospitality, 130, 146; for laziness, 129; for murder, 144-45; for sins, 87-88, 135, 138-39, 144, 145-46, 180, 208, 211
- Quechua language: post-Conquest spread of, 2-3, 172, 174; use of, iv-v, 13, 154-55, 179, 200, 208
- Quichinche, Indians from, 16
- Quinoa*, 18-20, 147, 155, 185
- Quito, kingdom of, 1; *see also* Indian-White relations
- Race, 1, 2, 54 (n. 88), 177
- Rain, 92, 108, 125, 126, 153, 216
- Rainbow, 63, 64, 65, 66, 91-92, 131, 136 (n. 56), 175, 191, 197-98
- Religion, 5-6, 81-94; *see also* Catholicism; Church, Catholic
- Remedies, 31, 44, 62-64, 166-69, 197-98; *see also* Curing; Medicine
- Rituals, 113-24; Catholic, 5-6; parallels in, iv
- Sacrifice, 215
- Saenz, Moisés, 5-6
- Saints: cult of, 81-84, 106-11, 180, 211-12; images of, 153, 160, 164
- Salt, 30
- San Juan *fiesta*, 93, 106-7, 108-11, 122
- San Pablo, Laguna de, 7-8
- San Rafael, Indians from, 12, 28, 100-104
- Schools, 13, 53, 149, 157, 166, 184-85
- Self-government, nearest approach to, 83-84, 103-4; *see also* Leadership
- Servants; *see* Domestic service
- Sex, 53, 60-61; education, 52; outside marriage, 57, 58-59, 131, 138, 144; relations with animals, 141-43, 191; relations with Whites, 54, 59
- Sheep, 17, 109, 139, 205-6
- Shrines, 6, 118, 181
- Sickness; *see* Curing; Disease
- Sin, 70, 73, 87-88, 136, 145-46
- Sorcery; *see* Witchcraft
- Soul, 44, 81, 196-97, 200, 203, 207, 214; loss of, 180, 196, 197 (n. 39), 215; prayed to, 87, 180
- Southwest, North American, parallels with, iv, 52 (n. 76), 66 (n. 155), 86 (nn. 22 and 23), 87 (n. 30), 89 (n. 42), 90 (nn. 51 and 53), 92 (n. 59), 93 (nn. 65 and 72), 72, 94 (n. 76), 98 (n. 11), 104, 107 (n. 31), 114 (n. 6), 115 and n. 17, 116 (n. 27), 117 (n. 33), 125 (n. 1), 130 (n. 36), 138 (n. 63), 149 (n. 2), 157, 163, 171, 180, 181 (n. 23), 208 (n. 82)

- Spanish conquest, 3
- Spanish influence in Indian life, 1, 3, 177, 178 (Table 3), 179-82
- Spanish terms: knowledge and use of, 150, 155, 159, 163, 167, 169; Quechuized, iv-v; writing of, iv-v
- Spirits, 175, 179, 180, 204-7, 215; accompanying drunks, 135; causing disease, 194; as companions of sorcerers, 71-72, 76-77, 175; haunts of, 93, 203; leading folks astray, 135-38, 175; making love to unwary women, 131, 147-48; of unbaptized dead, 89, 204; *see also* Exorcism
- Stars, 91, 112
- Status; *see* Class differences in Indian community; Indian-White relations
- Sucking treatment, 68, 71-72, 199; *see also* Curing
- Suffrage, Indian, 5
- Sun, 42, 90-91, 175, 179
- Surnames, 46, 190; *see also* Naming
- Tanning, aboriginal, 2
- Taxes, 11, 24, 178
- Teniente político*, 5, 186
- Theft or robbery, 69, 73-74, 87, 144-45, 172
- Tithes; *see* *Diezmos*
- Tobacco, 70-72, 74-77, 93, 119, 135, 160, 196
- Traders: aboriginal, 5, 180; Indian, 13, 30-32, 151, 159, 161, 162, 181
- Tribal organization, 4-5, 174, 176-77, 181; *see also* Leadership
- Tribes, aboriginal, 1-3, 7 (n. 5)
- Tributary Indians, 3-4, 174
- Velasco, Juan de, 2 (n. 4)
- Wages for *peones*, 9, 188-89
- Wake, 77-78, 97, 143, 144, 174, 199-202; *see also* Death
- War, 208 (n. 82); Amazonic parallels, 103, 176; with bears, 141-42
- Water, cold, belief about, 47
- Water supply, ownership of, 8
- Weaning, 49, 166
- Weapons, 32, 141-42
- Weaving, 9, 25-27, 54, 149, 150, 158, 159, 161, 165, 170, 171, 184; aboriginal, 2, 170 (n. 1), 171; by men, 27, 54, 161, 171; *see also* Loom
- Wedding, 55-58, 194-95; *see also* Marriage
- Wheat, 12, 18-19, 178, 184
- Whipping, 105, 123, 211
- Whips, 107, 109-11, 210, 213
- "White," definition of, 1
- Widowhood, 38, 49, 58, 131, 142
- Wind, bad; *see* *Aire, mal*
- Witchcraft, 64, 68-69, 72-73, 88, 131-34, 139-40, 143, 150, 151, 161, 169
- Work; *see* Division of labor; *Minga*
- Yaqui parallels, 78 (nn. 193 and 194), 82 (n. 5), 85 (nn. 19 and 21), 100 (n. 13), 110 (n. 39), 181 (n. 23)
- Yucatan parallels, 12 (n. 20), 16 (n. 11), 63 (n. 131), 82 (n. 2), 104 (n. 19), 142 (n. 76), 180, 205 (n. 72)
- Zapotec parallels, 15 (n. 8), 16 (n. 11), 17, 27 (n. 75), 43 (n. 39), 44 (n. 45), 59, 63 (n. 131), 66, 78 (n. 193), 82 (n. 5), 85 (n. 21), 86 (nn. 22, 23, and 27), 87 (n. 28), 89 (n. 40), 112 (n. 49), 117, 123 (n. 71), 125 (n. 3), 130 (n. 36), 134 (n. 51), 153 (n. 8), 179, 180

